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ABSTRACT

A study of North Australia's Kriol language situation identifies the language, its speakers, its functions, and the sociopolitical factors in its emergence as an autonomous language. The first chapter reviews the development of the linguistic field concerning pidgins and creoles, looking especially at the concepts developed to explain the rise and decline of these languages worldwide. Chapter two traces the general development of English-related forms of Aboriginal speech throughout Australia and establishes the position of Kriol relative to Torres Strait Creole and Aboriginal English. The distribution of speakers, the relative use of Kriol in their communities, and variations in Kriol are also described. The third chapter considers whether or not Kriol is an Aboriginal language, based on Aboriginal use of and attitudes toward it. Chapter four examines the effects of government policies in Kriol's development, focusing on one Aboriginal community where Kriol has been spoken as a native language for four generations and the administrative, educational, medical, and church entities within it. The final chapter documents Kriol use by the government in communication and education, especially in a bilingual education program. The importance of Kriol in future educational planning is also discussed. A number of maps and diagrams are included, as well as an extensive bibliography. (MSE)

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WORK PAPERS OF SIL-AAB

Series A Volume 10

KRIOL OF NORTH AUSTRALIA
A LANGUAGE COMING OF AGE

John Sandefur

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**Summer Institute of Linguistics
Australian Aborigines Branch
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This book is written
in memory of
Barnabas, Mordecai, Isaac and Douglas,
four great men
who had great patience
with an inquisitive munanga,
and it is
dedicated to
Holt Thompson and Dorothy Meehan,
the first two Anglo-Australians to recognize
the significance of Kriol
to such a degree that
they stood against the tide of opposition
and helped to establish
the Bamyili School Kriol bilingual education program.

Foreword

WORK PAPERS OF SIL-AAB

These work papers are being produced in two series by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Australian Aborigines Branch in order to make results of SIL research in Australia more widely available. In general, Series A contains linguistic papers which are more technical, while Series B contains language learning, anthropology and literacy material aimed at a broader audience.

The work papers reflect both past and current research projects by SIL members; however, some papers by other than SIL members are included.

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Preface

This study was originally a thesis submitted in 1984 for the Master of Arts degree, Anthropology, University of Western Australia. Only minor changes have been made for this publication and no attempt has been made to incorporate more recent information on Kriol research or the Kriol language situation.

This book is based on research carried out since March 1973 when I made my first trip to Ngukurr for a two month language survey. I am indebted to Ian Knowles for making the arrangements for that first trip as well as for providing me with invaluable introductions to key Ngukurr people. Since then approximately half my time has been spent working in direct contact with Kriol and Kriol speakers. This work has been varied, including linguistic analysis, helping to develop the orthography and literacy materials, assisting with various aspects of Kriol school programs, compiling a dictionary, preparing a language learning course, carrying out language surveys, writing articles, helping to produce video programs, translating the Bible with Kriol speakers and working to improve the social standing of Kriol.

During these last twelve years I have resided primarily at Ngukurr — that is the only place I do not live out of a suitcase. I have, however, been physically in residence at Ngukurr for approximately seven years. I have also spent about a year at Barunga [formerly Bamyili], three months on Northern Territory cattle stations, seven months in the Kimberleys and a month looking at Kriol in Queensland.

All of this time has been spent working under the auspices of the Australian Aborigines Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics[1]. Since August 1976 my wife Joy has been my constant co-worker in all that I have done. I owe much to her and my SIL colleagues who have helped me in numerous ways during the last twelve years. Joy has been a great encouragement to me as I have worked on this book. Both she and our daughter Tarsha have displayed much patience with me when my mind and energies were focused on it. I am very grateful to them both for bearing with me.

I am also indebted to many Kriol speakers for sharing their language and culture and lives with me during these twelve years. I owe a particular word of thanks, however, to Andrew Joshua for providing me with my first formal introduction to Kriol; to Mordecai Skewthorpe, Barnabas Roberts and Isaac Joshua for the many patient hours they spent teaching me during my first few years at Ngukurr; to David Daniels for his encouragement over the years; to Charlie Johnson and Silva and Matthew and the others in their camp for always making me feel at home; to Wallace Dennis, along with his wife Dorothy, for being my almost constant companion and guide as I have travelled throughout the Kriol country; to Michael and Dixie Gumbuli and Queenie Brennan for their friendship and help in so many ways; to David Jentian and Danny Jentian for teaching me so much about Barunga; to David and Kathy Douglas for their hospitality at Doomadgee, and to Cessie Rivers for hers at Halls Creek; to Brian Dan Daniels, Mal Wurramara and Tingle Marna for their help on language surveys; to Tommy May for his assistance at Fitzroy Crossing; and to Rodney Rivers for his friendship and encouragement as my translation colleague and his wife Glenys for her hospitality.

I also owe a word of thanks to a number of friends and colleagues who have helped me with various aspects of preparing this book. In particular I wish to say thanks to Greg Bierbaum, Kathy Gale, Phil Graber, John Harris, Stephen Harris, Joyce Hudson, Percy Leske, Peter Mühlhäusler, Sandi Ray, Eirlys Richards, Bruce Rigsby, Anna Shnukal, Margaret Sharpe, Allan and Donelle Steel, and David Trigger for their comments on drafts of various sections of the book; to Janet Cowden for her assistance in the library; to Wilfred Stephen for his cartographic work; to Marilyn Aeschliman, John Fletcher, Bruce Sommer and especially Rosemary Ebenal for their assistance in the word processing department; and to Dorothy Meehan and Gail Forbutt for their many discussions and especially their encouragements as I worked on this project.

This book would not, however, have even been attempted if it had not been for the encouragement given to me to undertake such a mammoth task, by Susan Kaldor my thesis supervisor. I am greatly thankful and appreciative of the tremendous amount of time and energy she has given to me in supervising the writing of this book. It is she who deserves the credit for seeing the project completed.

I would also like to give acknowledgement to my Father and his Son who have enabled me through their Spirit to accomplish what I have done.

John Sandefur

Abbreviations

ABC	Australian Broadcasting Corporation
ABF	Aboriginal Bible Fellowship
AE	Aboriginal English
AIAS	Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies
AIM	Aborigines Inland Mission
BECC	Bilingual Education Consultative Committee
C.A.E.	College of Advanced Education
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CSIRO	Commonwealth Scientific & Industrial Research Organization
DAA	Department of Aboriginal Affairs
E.S.L.	English as a Second Language
NSW	New South Wales
N.T.	Northern Territory
Qld	Queensland
S.A.	South Australia
SAE	Standard Australian English
SAL	School of Australian Linguistics
SIL	Summer Institute of Linguistics
TAFE	Technical and Further Education
T.E.S.L.	Teaching English as a Second Language
UAM	United Aborigines Mission
VIC	Victoria
W.A.	Western Australia
WBT	Wycliffe Bible Translators

Introduction

In recent years there has been a great proliferation of interest in the non-standard languages and dialects which are spoken widely around the world — an area which had previously been sorely neglected. Large-scale movements of people after World War Two, combined with other social changes around the world, have made governments more aware of the fact that millions of people have a 'non-standard' mother tongue, a fact which they can no longer continue to ignore.

Linguists have become interested in such languages for what they offer for the building of theories concerning language origin, language change and language variation. Of particular interest is the relationship between first language acquisition, second language acquisition and contact languages, and how these relationships reflect on the universal processes involving the use of human language. One of the most important branches of this field of enquiry is the study of pidgins and creoles.

In Australia[2] one such language (Kriol[3]), whose roots extend back almost two centuries, began to acquire the status of a language in its own right during the last decade. The emergence of Kriol as an autonomous language, a status which it is unlikely to have begun to attain without the advocacy and support of sympathetic non-Aboriginal groups and persons, is still in an incipient stage. Being in the fortunate position of witnessing the process of the coming of age of this language, I considered it to be an ideal time to investigate the factors which have been instrumental in its development — factors which may have some relevance to the development of other newly emerging languages elsewhere.

The aim of this book, then, is to identify the language, its speakers, its functions and the socio-political factors influential in its coming of age. Such information will, I hope, be of some interest not only to creolists, but, at the practical level, to government and mission bodies, as well as to the speakers of the language themselves.

In chapter one I review briefly the development of the linguistic field of inquiry relevant to pidgins and creoles, looking especially at the concepts developed to explain the rise and decline of these languages worldwide. Some readers, if they are less interested in the complex linguistic and sociolinguistic issues of pidgins and creoles in general, may wish to start reading at chapter two.

I begin chapter two by tracing the general development of English-related forms of Aboriginal speech throughout Australia and establish the position of Kriol relative to Torres Strait Creole and Aboriginal English. I then proceed to identify the speakers[4] of Kriol and the way in which Kriol is used in their communities relative to other languages present in those communities. In the latter part of the chapter, I attempt to describe the nature of the variation which occurs within Kriol as well as identify some of its dialectal and sociolectal varieties.

Chapter three considers the question of whether or not Kriol is an Aboriginal language. In the first half of the chapter, I not only show that Kriol is used by Aborigines in all aspects of their community life, but also that it encodes an Aboriginal-Australian world view rather than an Anglo-Australian one. The second half of the chapter is devoted to a discussion of the value judgements which Kriol speakers place on the language. I document that an increasing number of Kriol speakers, especially among those for whom it is their mother tongue, are positively identifying with Kriol as their own language.

Having identified Kriol, its speakers and its functions, I examine in chapter four the effects of government policies in the development of Kriol. I focus specifically on one particular Aboriginal community in the Northern Territory (Ngukurr) where Kriol is spoken as a mother tongue by four generations. I begin with a general review of government policies towards Aborigines since the early days of colonization. This is followed by a detailed accounting of the socio-political development of the region under study as it has affected language, with particular emphasis on four modern social institutions (administrative, educational, medical and church entities) during the last two decades.

In the final chapter I document the use — although sporadic — of Kriol by the government in communication and education. One of the most significant factors instrumental in bringing about an autonomous status for Kriol has been its use in a bilingual education school program in the Northern Territory. A considerable portion of this chapter is therefore spent in discussing various aspects of the use of Kriol in school and its importance in future educational planning.

CHAPTER 1

THE STUDY OF PIDGINS AND CREOLES

The study of pidgins and creoles goes back to the 19th century pioneering work of Hugo Schuchardt, whom DeCamp (1971a:31, 1977:9) describes as being "the undisputed father of pidgin-creole studies". Schuchardt published his classic work Kreolische Studien in the 1880s. It was not until the 1930s, however, that pidgins and creoles as types of languages were effectively distinguished by Leonard Bloomfield (1933) and John Reinecke (1937, 1938). During the following two decades Robert A. Hall Jr. (e.g. 1953, 1955, 1958) and Douglas Taylor (e.g. 1951, 1956) were primarily responsible for continuity in the studies of pidgins and creoles, with Hall (1962, 1966) popularizing the generally accepted pidgin-creole 'life-cycle' theory.

The recognition of pidgin-creole studies as a legitimate academic field of enquiry was greatly promoted in the 1950s by Robert B. Le Page's linguistic survey of the West Indies and the establishment by him of a research centre for creolists at the University of the West Indies. The emergence of the new discipline was confirmed in 1959 with the convening of the First International Conference on Creole Language Studies in Jamaica. The discipline may be seen as having truly 'come of age' at the second international conference held in 1968, also in Jamaica. Several additional conferences have since been held, one in Hawaii in 1975 and one in the U.S. Virgin Islands in 1979.

Until relatively recently pidgins and creoles were not considered to be real languages even by linguists, let alone by members of the general public. At worst, they were considered to be pathologically deviant versions of European languages; at best, just quaint dialects. Today, although the field of pidgin-creole studies is well established and these languages are now accepted by linguists as being natural languages well worthy of scholarly investigation, there is much disagreement on the definition of just what pidgins and creoles are. As DeCamp (1977:3-4) points out,

> linguists all agree that there is such a group, that it includes many languages and large numbers of speakers, and that pidgin-creole studies have now become an important field within linguistics. Yet even the authors of this book would not agree among themselves on a definition of these languages. Some definitions are based on function, the role these languages play in the community: e.g., a pidgin is an auxiliary trade language. Some are based on historical origins and development: e.g., a pidgin may be spontaneously generated; a creole is a language that has evolved from a pidgin. Some definitions include formal characteristics: restricted vocabulary; absence of gender, true tenses, inflectional morphology, or relative clauses, etc. Some linguists combine these different kinds of criteria and include additional restrictions in their definitions. To a creolist, almost everyone else's definition of a creole sounds absurd and arbitrary; yet creolists communicate and collaborate with their colleagues...

Alleyne (1980:2) similarly laments the fact that "creole linguists talk to each other and presumably know what each other is talking about, books are written on the subject, but somehow an acceptable clear definition [of creole] has not been forthcoming".

This chapter provides a general summary of the main definitions and of the terminology and processes proposed for pidgins and creoles.

THE ORIGIN AND LIFE-CYCLE OF PIDGINS AND CREOLES

One of the most generally accepted basic concepts among creolists is that of the pidgin-creole life-cycle which begins with a spontaneously generated pidgin that develops into a creole. A pidgin is generally defined as "a contact vernacular, normally not the native language of any of its speakers" (DeCamp 1971a:15). Pidgins are typically characterized as having a limited vocabulary, reduced grammatical structures and restricted usage, functioning only as auxiliary contact languages. No one speaks a pidgin as his mother tongue; it is a second language to all who use it.

As regards the origins of pidgins (and ultimately the creoles that develop from them), there are three main competing theories. The first of these has come to be known as 'polygenesis'. Each different pidgin is seen to be the result of a separate act of creation and process of development. There are two main versions of polygenesis, the 'baby-talk' theory and the 'independent parallel development' theory.

The baby-talk theory, which was most fully developed by Bloomfield (1933), attributes the origin of each pidgin to a sort of baby-talk used by masters to communicate with their slaves. The masters deliberately mutilated the standard language by eliminating all grammatical inflections, reducing the number of phonological and syntactic contrasts, and limiting the vocabulary to a few hundred words. According to DeCamp (1971a:19), this theory is easily refuted, although Koefoed (1979) argues strongly to the contrary.

Hall (1962), who has been the most vigorous defender of polygenesis, has developed what is sometimes referred to as the 'independent parallel development' theory. He accounts for the similarities apparent in the ten dozen or so[5] extant pidgins and creoles around the world by arguing that many of them arose independently but developed along parallel lines. A new pidgin is likely to arise in superficial and temporary contact situations (such as a guide meeting a tourist or a shopkeeper meeting a customer) when the two persons involved do not share a common language. The pidgin will draw its minimal vocabulary from both languages, with phonology and syntax being stripped of not only redundancy but some essential features as well. Such a pidgin is suitable for only minimal communication, but it may be expanded and under the right social conditions may develop into a creole. A pidgin (or creole) may develop in a given community either by spontaneous generation or by extension or diffusion of an existing pidgin (or creole) into the community.

By contrast with the hypotheses outlined, Whinnom (1971) contends that it is not the guide and tourist nor master and slave who give rise to a pidgin, but minority speakers in subordinate positions who do not share a common language among themselves. Chinese pidgin English in Hong Kong is not spoken between English and Chinese speakers but between Chinese in the service community who speak a variety of Chinese dialects. It is rare for members of the European community to learn pidgin, and those who claim to speak it tend to speak only a 'baby-talk' English with bits of Chinese and the real pidgin. The real speakers of the pidgin, the service-class Chinese, treat such an improvised interlingua with contempt. The newcomer from England who overhears his Chinese servants speaking the pidgin to each other is not likely to recognize it as such and may consider them to be speaking Chinese.

According to Whinnom (1971), then, in order for a true pidgin to arise, it is essential that the people who become pidgin speakers come from two or more different and mutually unintelligible language backgrounds; there must also be a dominant language which supplies most of the vocabulary. The dominant language is known as the 'superstrate' language; the subordinate languages as the 'substrate' languages. The superstrate language is the language on which the pidgin (or creole) is 'based' and is sometimes referred to as the 'lexifier' language since it provides the bulk of the lexemes for the pidgin (or creole).

Dissatisfaction with polygenetic theories gave rise in the late 1950s to the 'monogenetic' theory. Whinnom (1956, 1965), Taylor (1956, 1957, 1960, 1961) and others argued that all European-based pidgins (and creoles) have come from a common proto-pidgin: the famous Mediterranean lingua franca Sabir. This theory is based on the notion that 'relexification' from this proto-pidgin took place whenever the language came in contact with another European language. In this process, the vocabulary of the proto-pidgin was replaced by the vocabulary from the dominant European language in each area while the structure of the pidgin remained the same. It was argued by Stewart (1962) that such divergent relexification of a single proto-pidgin could better account for the similarities between the various pidgins (and creoles) than could the convergent restructuring of a whole group of separate languages.

The third currently competing theory on the origins of pidgins (and creoles) is the 'innatist' theory introduced in the 1970s by Kay and Sankoff (1974). This theory, based on the view that human beings have predetermined biological propensities for acquiring language (Todd 1974:43), claims to account for the similarities between pidgins (and creoles) throughout the world by positing linguistic universals which place constraints on the development of these languages. The most thorough development of this theory is Bickerton's (1981) 'human language bioprogram' which attempts to unify creole language origins with language acquisition and general language origins. Bickerton's theory, however, does not deal specifically with the origins of pidgins. Instead, he presupposes their existence and focuses on emergent creoles.[6]

With regard to the life-cycle of pidgins, a distinction is sometimes made between 'restricted' pidgin and 'extended' pidgin (Todd 1974).[7] A restricted pidgin is one which arises as a result of a marginal contact situation. It serves only this limited purpose and tends to die out as soon as the contact which gave rise to it is withdrawn. An extended pidgin, by contrast, is one which proves vitally important in a multilingual area and is therefore extended and used beyond the original limited function which caused it to come into being.

If the interlingual contact situation which caused the pidgin to come into being ends, the pidgin usually also ends, for there is no longer a need for it, and there are no sentimental attachments or nationalistic motivations for preserving a dead pidgin. On the other hand, if the interlingual contact is maintained for a long time, the subordinate group usually learns the standard language of the dominant group, in which case the pidgin also ends. The only way in which a pidgin may escape extinction is by developing into a creole (DeCamp 1971a:16).

A creole is generally considered to be a pidgin which has undergone 'creolization' by acquisition as a mother tongue by children.[8] In contrast to a pidgin, a creole is "the native language of most of its speakers" (DeCamp 1971a:16). Its vocabulary and syntactic devices are extended and become, like those of any native language, large enough to meet all the communicative needs of its speakers.

In the final stages of the life-cycle of a creole, there are three basic alternatives: (a) a creole may become extinct, (b) it may further develop into a 'normal' autonomous language, or (c) it may gradually merge with the corresponding standard language.

Whinnom (1971:111) refers to this latter process as 'decreolization', a process "which can in time transform a creole into something linked by a smoothly intergrading bridge to the original target-language of the parent pidgin — transform the creole, in effect, into a 'dialect' of the standard".

The concept of dialect itself is not without its difficulties. Dittmar (1976) points out that general linguistics has not been able to theoretically define the distinction between varieties within the one language as opposed to different languages.[9] From a grammatical point of view, there may not exist valid criteria by which a clear distinction between 'variety' and 'language' may be made. On purely linguistic grounds linguists cannot necessarily define two varieties of speech as being two languages or two dialects of the one language. Instead, it appears that "the ultimate decision in applying the label 'language' or 'variety' ('dialect') rests with the members of a linguistic community and is determined by sociopolitical factors" (Dittmar 1976:176).

It is generally assumed that a creole which remains in contact with its superstrate or lexifier language will inevitably begin to decreolize and ultimately merge with or become a dialect of the lexifier language. There are, however, some contradictions about this in the relevant literature. Bickerton, for example, seems undecided on the point of the inevitability of decreolization. He contradicts himself by saying, on the one hand, that "decreolisation is a phenomenon which is found wherever a creole language is in direct contact with its associated superstrate language" (1980:109) and, on the other hand, that "clearly, after creolisation, a creole language may or may not undergo decreolisation" (1980:112).

VARIATION IN PIDGINS AND CREOLES

The variation in pidgin and creole systems, whether caused by decreolization or other processes, poses challenges to linguistic description. Several approaches to the description of this variation in speech have been made.

Tsuzaki (1971) argues for the description of Hawaiian English in terms of a scheme of three coexistent systems: an obsolescent pidgin, a creole, and an English dialect with standard and non-standard varieties. These three systems are overlapping, rather than completely independent, sets of basic structures. The drawback of this scheme is the difficulty of making definitive delineations among the component systems.

Bailey (1971), in her study of Jamaican creole, speaks of two poles at opposite ends of a continuum. All performances which occur within the continuum are considered to belong to one or the other of the two end poles. Use is made of a weighted scale and a contrastive analysis of a speech sample to determine its basis in and departure from the two end poles. She has taken this approach to analyzing the continuum on pedagogical grounds, claiming that "the pedagogue must work with neat, clearly defined patterns of behaviour" (1971:341).

Craig (1971) also considers the continuum in the West Indies to have two divergent or polar norms, but, unlike Bailey, he considers the intervening area to be an 'area of interaction'. This area is referred to as an interaction area because its existence is dependent on the cross-influences from the two extremes. There are two main types of interaction which help create the continuum: 'simple mixing' and 'mutation with mixing'. In simple mixing, different speakers use different combinations of the contrasts provided by the two relatively widely separated systems represented by the poles. In mutation with mixing, the original contrasts are mutated in various ways, sometimes through interference of one system with the other, before being mixed.

DeCamp (1971b) also accepts the two poles to account for the language situation in Jamaica, but he analyzes the intervening range as rule-governed behaviour in terms of a qualitative scale. He refers to the continuum as a 'post-creole continuum', with creole being at one end and the standard language at the other. This continuum is linear, linguistically defined, and does not include the multidimensional sociological correlates of variation. A speech community in which such a continuum is in operation is a post-creole speech community in contrast to 'diglossic' creole areas such as Haiti.[10]

DeCamp's approach of an implicational scalable continuum of variation has been more widely accepted than the other approaches, although there is some dispute over his choice of terminology. Bickerton (1980:110), for example, rejects the prefix post "since this suggests that the original creole must have vanished or become unrecognisable, and this may or may not be the case". A number of writers (e.g. Bailey 1973, Washabaugh 1974, Bickerton 1975, Akers 1977, Rickford 1979) have since refined the concept of DeCamp's implicational scalable continuum. Bickerton's (1975) approach will specifically be discussed later.

The creole continuum is generally described, following Stewart's (1965) terminology, in terms of a number of lects. The 'basilect' is the variety of creole that is the most distinct from the superstrate language and the 'acrolect' is the variety of speech that is the closest to the superstrate language. The basilectal and acrolectal extremes of the continuum are linked by a number of intermediate varieties called the 'mesolect'. The mesolect is sometimes further specified as lower mesolect (that part of the mesolect closest to the basilect), upper mesolect (that part closest to the acrolect), and mid-mesolect (that part equidistant from the basilect and acrolect). These various lects do not refer to discrete objects but rather represent sectors of the continuum which blend into one another so that no non-arbitrary division is possible.

Although the above are the commonly expressed definitions and concepts relative to pidgins and creoles, they are by no means universally and unambiguously accepted by all creolists. Alleyne (1980:2), for example, claims to have been campaigning for a long time for a re-examination of some of the basic definitions of the terminology, much of which we have inherited from the 19th century. The problem, however, is not simply one of terminology. If it were, it could be resolved by writers such as Bailey (1974) who have attempted to clarify some of the terminology. Rather, as Givón (1979b) has so vividly put it, most of the problem lies with the "conceptual scenery".

A number of writers have attempted to side-step the issue by substituting the seemingly broader and emotionally less loaded term 'contact language' for either pidgin or creole. Givón (1979b:4) argues, however, that "no language exists which is not in some sense a 'contact language'". Every new generation engages in linguistic re-analysis as a matter of course during language acquisition. The young interact daily with the old and their speech bears the marks of this linguistic interaction. Assuming a newborn child possesses a universal grammar, he acquires his 'first' language by going through a succession of re-modellings of this initial grammar through his daily interaction with a specific linguistic environment. The language the child acquires, therefore, is a contact language. In Givón's view, the only language that could possibly be a non-contact language is Universal Grammar.

PIDGINIZATION AND THE CHARACTERISTICS OF PIDGINS

Pidgins are generally considered to arise through the process of 'pidginization'. Exactly what pidginization is, however, is not clear. Whinnom (1971:91) approaches pidginization from the biological perspective of hybridization, claiming that "the biological and linguistic processes of hybridization are closely comparable if not mechanically identical". In his view, primary linguistic hybridization is the breaking up of a language into dialects. Secondary hybridization refers to the inter-breeding of distinct species and is exemplified linguistically by the interlanguage spoken by a second-language learner. A true pidgin, Whinnon claims, emerges through tertiary hybridization, a situation which can only arise when a barrier with the parent species has developed (i.e. the target language is removed from consideration).

Hymes (1971d:70) sees pidginization as "a complex process, comprising the concurrence of several component processes". These component processes are simplification or change in the complexity of outer form, reduction or change in the scope of inner form, and restriction or change in the scope of use. He goes on to define pidginization as "that complex process of sociolinguistic change comprising reduction in inner form, with convergence, in the context of restriction in use" (1971d:84).

In Samarin's (1971) view, the fundamental characteristic of pidginization is reduction or simplification. This simplification need not be drastic nor is it necessarily a purely linguistic phenomenon. Pidginization is "any consistent reduction of the functions of language both in its grammar and its use", with change in function preceding change in form (1971:126). Samarin notes that function reduction is what is indicated by the term 'trade language'.

Hymes (1971d:70) notes that many scholars disagree with Samarin's stand of equating pidginization with simplification. Simplification is certainly characteristic of pidginization, but pidginization is not mere simplification. According to Whinnom (1971), pidginization is neither arbitrary simplification nor mechanical mixing, but an adaptation or selective change to certain ends. The processes of simplification and mixing are common, but their concurrence so as to result in the crystallization of a 'true' pidgin is very rare.

Ferguson (1971:145) points out that one of the problems is that "there is little agreement on what constitutes simplicity". Hymes (1971d) agrees that simplicity of form should not be confused with simplicity of content. Simplification of outer form may not necessarily mean a simplification of inner form. He goes on to note that the reduction or simplification of outer form may help to minimize the grammatical knowledge a person needs to have in order to decode or encode a message. Such simplification maximizes the role of the lexicon of the language, which is the sector of the language that the outsider is most likely to encounter and find easiest to acquire. "In this respect, the heart of pidginization is a focus on words and their order in situational context" (Hymes 1971d:73).

Koefoed (1979) distinguishes two major kinds of simplification, the second of which takes two forms. 'Learner's simplification' is a feature of imperfect learning that results from an effort to learn a model language. 'Model simplification' is a conscious attempt by speakers of the model language to simplify the model language. There are two forms of model simplification. One is 'spontaneous simplification' in which model speakers simplify their language according to their own notions about what makes their language difficult. The other is 'imitation simplification' in which the model language is simplified by imitating learners' errors. All of these forms of simplification are at work in pidginization along with two kinds of interference. 'Negative interference' has a 'filter' effect in that a feature of the model language is not present in the pidgin due to its absence in the learner's language. 'Positive interference' is the survival of a feature from the learner's language in the pidgin despite its absence in the model language.

Samarin (1971) claims that the process of pidginization is not restricted to the development of pidgins. Pidginization is also involved in the loss of memory, not of a medical or psychiatric nature, but in the sense of losing the knowledge of and feeling for one's former existence (i.e. 'disculturation'). Further, pidginization is involved in a variety of restricted codes, as opposed to elaborated codes. These include such varieties of speech as jargons and secret languages, special avoidance (e.g. mother-in-law) languages and glossolalic languages. They are distinguished only by their different genesis. "Pidgins result from language learning situations whereas restricted codes are part of the shared and learned behavior of a social group" (Samarin 1971:133).

Characteristics of Pidgins

Samarin (1971:118) argues for the need to distinguish between the salient features and the substantive features of pidgins, claiming that "there has been little concern with distinguishing between superficial features and defining characteristics". The salient or superficial features of pidgins are those which help us recognize most pidgins but do not distinguish them from other types of languages. The substantive features, on the other hand, are those which characterize all pidgins and essentially only pidgins and thus define pidgins as distinct from other types of languages. The search for the substantive characteristics is still continuing, with much debate along the way. Most proposed characteristic features for pidgins are relegated to the list of salient features: they occur in pidgins, but they are not unique to pidgins.

A list of typical features of pidgins may be compiled from some of the significant contributions to the relevant literature (Bynon 1977, Clyne

1975, DeCamp 1971a, Goodman 1967, Hall 1966, Hymes 1971c, Koefoed 1979, Leachman and Hall 1955, Mühlhäusler 1974, Samarin 1971, Schumann 1978a, Smith 1972, Stewart 1962). The characteristic which seems to be most widely accepted is that of simplification, although as noted above, just what simplification entails is not entirely clear.

The 'classic' statement of the features of pidgins maintains that pidgins are not the native languages of any of their speakers, are greatly simplified and much less complex than normal languages, are limited in their vocabularies, reduced in their grammatical structures, and restricted in their functions. Pidgins are said by some to be characterized as having no codified set of grammatical and lexical norms which are formally accepted and learnt by users. In addition to having a limited lexical inventory, the vocabularies of pidgins are characterized by a high rate of borrowing, with the vocabulary coming mostly from one language. Some writers characterize pidgins as being variable in pronunciation and exhibiting a reduced number of phonemic contrasts.

Pidgins are often characterized as deriving their sentence structure from a language different from the one from which they borrowed the bulk of their vocabulary, although the structure of the pidgin is distinct from both languages. Details of grammatical features considered to be characteristic include a drastic reduction in redundancy and an absence or elimination of number, gender, function words such as definite articles and prepositions, tense markers, passive and other auxiliaries, pronoun subject, the copula, and certain grammatical transformations such as passive constructions and inversion in questions. Morphologically, pidgins typically have a loss of inflectional systems, with word order tending to replace inflectional morphology. Juxtaposition may be used in topic-comment constructions and to indicate possession. Invariant pronominal forms derived from the most stressed variants are typically used, and the subject is often recapitulated by a pronoun. Pidgins characteristically use one form as the normal negator, make use of a so-called all-purpose preposition, and use a striking amount of reduplication or iteration.

CREOLIZATION AND THE CHARACTERISTICS OF CREOLES

Alleyne (1971) has long questioned the adequacy of the notion of a creole as being the 'nativization' of a pidgin. The acquisition of a pidgin as a first language by children may not necessarily lead to the expansion of that language if a second language is acquired at school age and the infant creole is developed no further and is abandoned. On the other hand, the pidgin may be expanded in structure and function through use as a lingua franca apart from first language acquisition. What is important, says Hymes (1971d:79), is "status as a primary language (functionally) in a community. Autobiographical priority, as first language learned, is a possible route to primary status, but neither necessary nor sufficient."

Hancock (1980) prefers not to acknowledge a distinction between pidgin and creole and considers stabilization to be more significant than nativization in the formation of creoles. Evidence for this is the fact that little difference exists between the Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea of native speakers and non-native speakers, and some of the most conservative stable Krio in Nigeria has been spoken by Kru seamen for over a century without having supplanted their native tongue. By stabilization Hancock (1980:65) means the establishment of linguistic conventions whose manifestations will be predictable for at least ninety percent of any speaker's performance. He sees the process of stabilization as being adult-initiated rather than child-initiated as is nativization.

Bickerton (1980:112) maintains that creolization is "a virtually instantaneous process taking place in the minds of the first generation of creole speakers." He argues (1979) that the process of creolization begins abruptly and lasts for only that short period of time during which a child's innate grammar is activated but not blocked by the language of his caretakers. A person is born with a kind of blueprint or bioprogram of language in his head. This innate or universal language, which is highly specified with regard to a core of syntax and semantic items but not lexical items, is in fact a person's first language. What usually happens as a child grows up is that he starts to change from the rules of this universal language to the rules of the language of the community in which he is growing. Creolization, in Bickerton's view, is that short-term cerebral affair in which the rules of the child's innate language become operative before the language of the community begins to impress upon him and change the rules.

Washabaugh (1980) strongly disagrees with Bickerton's cerebralist view of creolization on two accounts. First, according to Washabaugh (1980:136), "there is no longer any reason to believe that creolization is an abrupt, once for all linguistic process which coincides with the nativization of a language". Studies by Mühlhäusler (1980) and Sankoff (1980), for example, indicate that aspects of creolization may appear before nativization, while a study by Le Page (1977) suggests that they may occur after nativization provided certain social conditions exist. Further, according to Washabaugh (1980:136), language is a social reality and "it will no longer do to imagine that creole languages are born in the brain." Rather, following Givón (1979a), it must be supposed that distinctively creole grammars arise out of distinctively creole discourse which arises out of creole social life.

Mühlhäusler, who defines creolization as referring "to the kind of linguistic changes that occur when a language becomes the first language of a speech community" (1980:21), also disagrees with Bickerton and points out that creolization can take place at any stage of a developmental continuum. In his view, we can have creolized jargons, creolized stable pidgins or creolized expanded pidgins (Mühlhäusler 1980:32):

Type 1	Type 2	Type 3
jargon ↓ creole (e.g. West Indian English Creole)	jargon stabilized pidgin ↓ creole (e.g. Torres Strait Creole)	jargon stabilized pidgin expanded pidgin creole (e.g. Tok Pisin)

Characteristics of Creoles

One of the assumptions underlying the common use of the term creolization is that the structure of creoles can be typologically defined. Givón (1979b:19) points out that this assumption implies that "there exist some specific rules of language change which characterize the manner in which non-Creole languages change into Creoles", or that "there exist some linguistic features which characterize the structure of Creoles as against all other languages". He then proceeds to argue "that the linguistic evidence which claims to support such hypotheses is of rather doubtful validity" (1979b:19).[11]

DeCamp (1971a:25) expresses a similar view when he claims that "there is no certain way of identifying as a creole a language whose history is unknown". His statement implies that the defining characteristic of creoles is based on what they came from or how they came about, not what their structure is. As was pointed out earlier, however, the exact nature of the relation between pidgins and creoles and the process of creolization are still not clearly understood.

A search of the literature provides very few proposed defining characteristics of creoles. DeCamp (1971a) says that, unlike pidgins, the vocabulary and syntactic devices of creoles are large enough to meet all the communication needs of their speakers like any other native languages. Like pidgins, however, creoles tend to minimize redundancy in syntax. Creoles also, like pidgins, almost invariably have low social status. Alleyne (1971) adds that simplification is not a characteristic of creoles.

Givón (1979b) provides us with a list of features which have been proposed at one time or another as being characteristic of the structure of creoles: a relexified or borrowed vocabulary, reduced inflections, 'common denominator' or 'minimal' grammar, and 'optimal' grammar. Givón goes on to argue that none of these features is typologically characteristic of creoles. Many languages, including English, have extensively borrowed from other languages. Massive borrowing does not by itself make a language a creole. Lack of inflections is not unique to creoles either. Creoles tend to follow the structure of their substrate languages,[12] which in most cases are non-inflecting languages. In addition, there is a tendency for all languages which borrow massively from other languages to erode the borrowed inflections. The minimal grammar concept is based on an inadequate understanding of the intricacies and subtleties of the grammar of creoles and not seriously held today. As Hymes (1971d:69) points out, "pidgins cannot be seen as merely combinations or least common denominators, but reflect creative adaptation and innovation". The optimal grammar concept is related to universal grammar, but the notion of universal grammar is not restricted to creoles; it is very much in evidence during a child's acquisition of any language.[13] Changes in the direction of universal grammar may become accelerated during the rise of creoles, but aspects of universal grammar are not exclusive to creoles.

PROCESSES OF CHANGE

All living languages undergo change. The concept of fixity in language is essentially, as Sankoff (1980:139) points out, a "metalinguistic construct in the minds of speakers". Native speakers of a language generally superimpose an idealized fixed and regular 'language' on a mass of irregularity. Contrary to native speakers' perceptions, empirical research has firmly established that the state of 'a language' at any given point in time is a product of a number of ongoing, and often competing, historical processes.

As in other areas of pidgin-creole studies, there is disagreement among creolists on the significance and scale of variation caused by the various ongoing processes of change. Hymes (1971e:299) claims that "pidgins and creoles challenge conventional forms of linguistic description..." Sankoff (1980:139), on the other hand, argues that the problems posed for linguistic analysis by the nature of variable linguistic data of pidgins and creoles are not different in degree or in kind from the linguistic data encountered in other speech communities.

Bickerton (1980) argues that there are two basic types of language change. The first type proceeds through linguistic re-analysis in which the underlying structure is reinterpreted without overt changes in the surface structure. The second type of change involves overt changes in the surface structure, coming about either through one form or structure replacing another or by some change in the meaning, function or distribution of pre-existing forms or structures.

This second type of change is further subdivided by Bickerton (1980) into 'spontaneous' and 'non-spontaneous' changes. Any change in a language which is not influenced by any factors external to that language is a spontaneous change. Any change which owes its existence to the influence of another language is a non-spontaneous change. Creoles, being natural languages, undergo both spontaneous and non-spontaneous changes. These two types of change, which are sharply opposed to each other, can be formally distinguished when any surface change has taken place. In spontaneous change a pre-existing form or structure acquires a new meaning, function or distribution, whereas in non-spontaneous change a pre-existing meaning or function acquires a new form or structure. Decreolization constitutes a special case of non-spontaneous change.

The importance of distinguishing spontaneous changes from non-spontaneous or decreolization changes, according to Bickerton (1980), is that it enables one to preserve the hypothesis that a creole continuum is unilinear, consisting of a single series of sequential changes linking the basilect to the acrolect.

Mühlhäusler (1980) argues for the need for some further sets of distinctions in understanding processes of change. One should make a distinction, he says, between developmental changes and restructuring changes. Developmental changes are those which increase the overall referential and non-referential power of a language, whereas restructuring changes are those which are due primarily to contact with other languages and do not affect the overall power of a linguistic system. These changes can be summarized as follows (Mühlhäusler 1980:22):

DEVELOPMENTAL DIMENSION ↓
jargon
stabilized pidgin
expanded pidgin -> post pidgin -> superimposed language
creole ——————> post creole -> superimposed language
RESTRUCTURING DIMENSION

There are some significant differences, according to Mühlhäusler (1980), between the linguistic processes which occur on the developmental and restructuring continua. The developmental continuum is characterized by a gradual introduction of redundancy, the development of a word-formation component, an increase in derivational depth, the development of grammatical devices for non-referential purposes, and the gradual increase of morphological naturalness. The restructuring continuum is characterized by language mixing that leads to unnatural developments, hypercorrection, and an increase in variation with weakening of linguistic norms. Both continua are largely implicationally ordered, both are determined by complex conditions involving various levels of grammar and pragmatics, and both result in new systems.

Dreyfuss (1977) has tried to equate the development of a post-creole continuum with language death. Indeed, there is a wide-spread view that mixture between an English-based creole (or pidgin) and English automatically leads to a form of language which is closer to English and hence results in the death of the creole. This 'levelling' process in creoles is what is referred to as decreolization (Bynon 1977:259).

Mühlhäusler (1980), however, argues that this view ignores an important principle of language mixing, namely that whilst the mixing of linguistic subsystems tends to lead to levelling or a kind of common-core grammar, the mixing of separate systems leads to a new intermediate system which may be substantially different from both parent systems. Thus it is that 'anglicized' varieties of urban Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea are equally unintelligible to speakers of conservative rural Tok Pisin and speakers of English. Mühlhäusler (1980) also points out that levelling appears to occur when different but lexically related pidgins or creoles mix, a fact often overlooked when considering the historical development of individual pidgins in isolation.

DECREOLIZATION

The concept of decreolization is of particular relevance to the study of creole in North Australia. It is well documented, as will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, that this variety of Aboriginal speech had passed through the pidginization-pidgin stage of development by the turn of the 20th century and subsequently underwent creolization, being firmly established as a creole by the middle of the century. The relevant question being asked today is whether or not it is now undergoing decreolization. Because of the importance of this question, I will take a closer look at the concept of decreolization, in particular as expounded by Bickerton (1975), than I have of the other processes. Bickerton's study deals specifically with the speech situation in Guyana, but his analysis of the processes involved is purported to be applicable to other creole situations as well.

Bickerton argues that the labyrinth of variation in a creole speech situation forms a 'true continuum' that should be described in a unified analysis together with English rather than as several co-existent systems. Such a unitary treatment should be given because, he claims, English-based pidgins and creoles in general are "in some meaningful sense, all English" (1975:21). He admits, however, that such an analysis is not quite possible because of the presence of elements from the substrate or non-English languages, particularly in the original creole. Because "we simply lack sufficient knowledge both about the actual languages involved in the process and about the nature of, and constraints upon, linguistic change and inter-influence in general", he concentrates on "tracing the changes which occur to the basilectal system... and which serve to link it to the system of standard English" (Bickerton 1975:59). In other words, because it is not known whence creoles really come, but it is known whither they decreolize, Bickerton claims that English-based creoles are in some sense completely English.

One of the main axioms of this approach is that an analysis should have an exclusively linguistic base. Social and cultural correlates of linguistic variation, although interesting, should be discounted, for grammar is independent of context. A speaker's knowledge of grammar is first stored in terms of "purely linguistic information" which is subsequently "exploited" by the speaker for social purposes (Bickerton 1975:185).

The analysis Bickerton proposes is a 'recapitulatory' one in which there is a constant succession of restructurings of the original creole system across the continuum that yields a very gradual transmission of surface forms between the extremes of the basilect and the acrolect. The extreme creole varieties in modern speech would represent survivals from a relatively early stage in the development of the speech.

In such an analysis, the basilect is a phase in a development process through which some creole speakers pass after the language itself has passed through the phase. One of the most striking features of the continuum as one moves up it until the acrolect is reached is its linearity: "one man's hypercorrection is another man's vernacular" (Bickerton 1975:113).

One view of this 'moving up the continuum', which Bickerton (1980:111) refers to as a simplistic "tinkertoy" concept of decreolization, is that there are two distinct dialects or languages, the creole and the superstrate, and the creole abandons those features which distinguish it from the superstrate one after another and immediately replaces each abandoned feature by its superstrate equivalent.

The real situation is more complex, with speakers progressively changing the basilectal grammar so that its output gradually comes to resemble the output of an acrolectal grammar. The degree of closeness to the acrolect that is attainable at any stage is constrained by two factors: a speaker's perception of his ultimate target may be inaccurate, and it appears that for a grammar of one kind to become a grammar of another kind it has to follow a line which is far from straight.

In Bickerton's analysis a distinction is made between the processes involved in the basilect-to-mid-mesolect phase and the mid-mesolect-to-acrolect phase. Change in the basilect-to-mid-mesolect phase consists largely of introducing surface forms modelled on English ones but using them (at least initially) in very non-English ways and only slowly and gradually shifting the underlying semantic system in the general direction of English. Change in the mid-mesolect-to-acrolect phase, on the other hand, consists of increasingly adding English forms to the grammar consistent with their English functions while dropping out altogether non-English forms, or at least 'crushing and distorting' them into patterns which steadily become closer to English ones. The resulting creole continuum is "an unbroken chain from a basilectal level to an acrolectal level whose underlying structure is virtually indistinguishable from that of English" (Bickerton 1975:163).

Bickerton (1975:199) claims that although the ranges of individuals along the continuum differ, especially as regards production, each understands every variety within the creole system. Although it is practically impossible to know what constitutes a speaker's total range, they may be divided into two classes: 'single-range' speakers and 'split-range' speakers. Single-range speakers may be located anywhere within the system and appear to control contiguous lects. One of the unmistakable characteristics of such speakers in Guyana is their tendency to shift lects without any apparent contextual or even topical motivation. Split-range speakers, on the other hand, control lects on the continuum which are widely separated, without controlling intermediate ones. The outputs of such speakers resemble those of a bilingual speaker rather than those of a person varying within a single language system. In contrast to a single-range speaker, while the split-range speaker's two discrete lects may interfere with one another, shifts from one to the other are sharply and unambiguously marked and readily explicable on social grounds. Some split-range speakers are 'genuine bi-dialectals', capable of switching between the basilect and the acrolect without touching the mid-mesolectal level.

The conclusion of Bickerton's analysis of Guyanese creole, and by implication other creoles in similar situations, is that it does not constitute a language since one of its 'ends' is indistinguishable from English, nor is it a dialect "since dialects are supposedly more homogeneous than the language that contains them" (Bickerton 1975:166). Instead, Guyanese creole is a "dynamic system": a system in that the relationships within it are systematic with no trace of random mixing of elements; dynamic rather than static, since, in part, diachronic changes can be observed synchronically in the continuum.

This dynamic system model is applicable, Bickerton claims (1975:176), not only to other creoles, but to other speech situations as well, noting especially that "in the course of decreolisation, speakers are strung out across the continuum between 'native' creole and 'target' English in much the same way as second-language learners are strung out across the continuum" between first and second languages. The differences between these two types of continua stem primarily from extra-linguistic rather than linguistic factors, notably that creole continuum speakers form a closed community whereas language-learning continuum speakers typically do not. If the creole continuum constitutes a system, then the language-learning continuum between two distinct languages must also constitute a system. Pushing this to its logical conclusion, Bickerton (1975:178) claims that all such systems are in fact "only partial and arbitrary interpretations of the unique repository of System — the human *faculté de langage* itself".

INTERLANGUAGE

Researchers in child language acquisition generally agree that all normal children follow definable sequences of systematically occurring forms when learning their native language. Differences between the child's developing grammar and the adult's grammar are not due to errors of imperfect learning. Rather, children are constantly creating new rules which eventually lead to the adult's grammar. Second language acquisition [hereafter SLA] is purported to involve a similar process since cognitively it may be governed by the same principles (Herzfeld 1980:156). Within this school of thought, research on SLA has led to the development of the concept of 'interlanguage' (Selinker 1969).

The interlanguage concept implies that the utterances of a second-language learner are part of a separate linguistic system. This system, according to Selinker (1972), reflects the second-language learner's perception of how the target language is constructed. It is not simply a target language grammar with errors resulting from native language interference, but rather a systematic attempt to cope with the inherent irregularities of the target language itself (Herzfeld 1980:156).

In a series of publications, Schumann (1974a, 1974b, 1975, 1976, 1978a, 1978b, 1978c) investigates the implications of pidginization, creolization and decreolization for the study of interlanguage in SLA. He originally suggested that there are important similarities between pidginization and the early stages of SLA and between creolization and the later stages of SLA. The process of pidginization begins, he says, when learners have to acquire and use a second language under conditions of restricted social and psychological control. Such conditions produce an interlanguage which is pidginized in the sense that it is a reduced and simplified form of the target language.

A few writers (e.g. Meisel 1975, Flick and Gilbert 1977) argue vigorously against Schumann's analogy between pidginization and SLA, but Schumann (1978b) maintains that their arguments arise out of their equating the process of pidginization with its end product, i.e. a pidgin language. One's view of the validity of Schumann's 'pidginization hypothesis' of SLA depends on one's definition of pidginization.

Schumann (1978b) later revised his model and eliminated creolization in favour of decreolization, a move supported by Huebner (1976). The linguistic features which develop during creolization through the processes of expansion and complication are not derived from any target language which serves as a model of approximation. The creole, in a sense, creates itself by acquiring features through natural cognitive processes and the processes of natural language development. In contrast, during the later stages of SLA, a second-language learner's pidginized interlanguage complicates and expands in the direction of the target language norm. Since creolization is language creation and SLA is language acculturation, creolization is not a valid model for SLA.

Schumann[14] coined the terms 'basilang', 'mesolang' and 'acrolang' for the SLA continuum to show its parallel with the decreolization continuum. He points out, however, that the basilect and the basilang are "not really analogous" due to the fact that the basilect is a native language and the basilang is not (1978b:377). A speaker acquires the basilect by being born into a community for whom the lect is the native language. By contrast, a speaker acquires the basilang through a process of reduction and simplification of a second language to which he is exposed. Thus the process which produces the basilang is more analogous to pidginization than it is to decreolization. It is, therefore, the mesolang and acrolang stages of the SLA continuum which parallels decreolization.

Anderson (1979:111) argues that Schumann's model of the SLA continuum being analogous to a pidginization-decreolization continuum is inaccurate, for "it is not plausible to have pidginization in some way fade into decreolization in the same way that early SLA gradually develops towards the target language". The counterpart of pidginization, he says, should be depidginization instead of decreolization. He goes on to claim, however, that there are four parallel continua between which similarities exist: a pidginization-depidginization continuum, a creolization-decreolization continuum, an 'early first language acquisition'-'later first language acquisition' continuum, and an 'early SLA'-'later SLA' continuum. He recognizes that there are differences between the various phenomena related to these four continua, but argues that "we shouldn't let them obscure the common processes which underlie pidginization, creolization, first language acquisition and second language acquisition" (Anderson 1979:117). The main feature shared by all four of these continua is the developmental dimension of their later stages.

One of the major differences between the pidgin/creole continua and the language acquisition continua is that the former represent group phenomena while the latter represent individual phenomena. Second-language learners normally do not use the target language for intragroup communication, whereas pidgin/creole speakers form a closed community and use the language for communication among themselves (Flick and Gilbert 1977). In addition, as Valdman (1980:304) points out, in SLA and first-language acquisition, learners are exposed to unrestricted input, whereas in pidginization and creolization they operate with limited and 'defective' data.

In the exposition of his 'language bioprogram' theory, Bickerton (1981) agrees that the processes involved in the development of new languages (i.e. creoles) and the development of language in the individual (i.e. first-language acquisition), as well as the original development of human language, have very much in common. The human species, he claims, has evolved a genetic bioprogram for language which maps the development of language within the species and determines its development in every individual in much the same way as a person's physical development is genetically constrained. The development of creoles and the acquisition of language could derive, he says, from the re-enactment of the original development of human language.

As the discussion in this chapter has indicated, the basic processes involved in the development and decline of pidgins and creoles are neither clearly understood nor universally agreed upon by creolists. The rest of this book focusses on one particular creole, Kriol of North Australia, and some of the general issues summarised above will be discussed in relationship to its development.

CHAPTER 2

WHAT IS KRIOL?

An English-related contact language came into existence almost as soon as the first British settlement in Australia was established. Only eight years after the commencement of settlement at Port Jackson [now Sydney], David Collins (1798:544) published a book in which he commented on the type of speech then current between the settlers and the Aborigines:

> Language indeed, is out of the question, for at the time of writing this, nothing but a barbarous mixture of English with the Port Jackson dialect is spoken by either party; and it must be added that even in this the natives have the advantage, comprehending, with much greater aptness than we can pretend to, every thing they hear us say.

With the spread of settlement into other regions of Australia, this contact language (or other similar ones) also spread so that by the early part of the 20th century pidgin had gained wide usage as a lingua franca throughout most of outback Australia. The Melbourne Argus, for example, spoke scornfully in 1891 of "that ridiculous pigeon English which the whites have used... throughout Queensland... as their medium of communication with the blacks", Spencer (1928) recorded the pidgin proceedings of a court case he observed at Borroloola in 1902, Stanner (1933) made a few comments on pidgin in the Daly River area, and Kaberry (1937:92) described pidgin in the Kimberleys as "an Esperanto of the north [that] makes communication possible."

The presence of pidgin throughout outback Australia by the early part of this century is well attested in the literature of the period. Many writings, mostly autobiographical in nature, contain pidgin in their conversational reconstructions.[15]

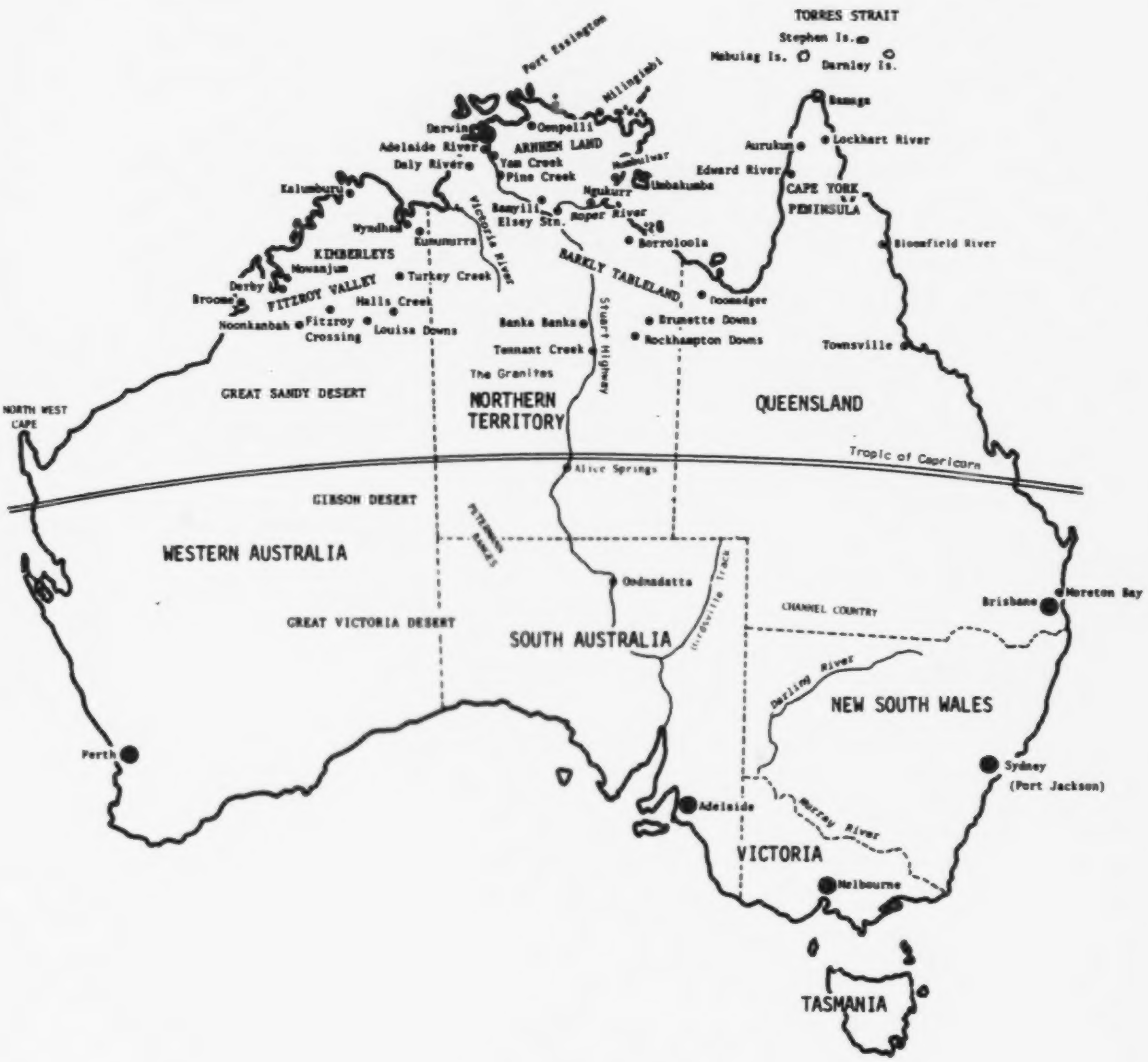
It has generally been presumed that there was (and is) only one pidgin English in Australia — the so-called "Australian Pidgin English" (Hall 1943) — and that this pidgin had its origin[16] in the Port Jackson contact language and was spread primarily through the pastoral industry. Writing in 1904 Favenc commented:

> The pidgin talk which is considered so essential for carrying on conversation with a blackfellow is mostly of very old origin... most of it is derived from New South Wales and Victoria. Or it might be better said from New South Wales only, as, when most of it originated, Victoria was not. As whites pushed on and on amongst new tribes, nothing was taken from the local dialects to add to the general pidgin stock, but the original was carried along, mostly by the black boys who accompanied the whites... Taking it all and through, the Murray and Darling and their tributaries have been the birthplace of most of the pidgin in common use.

As settlement spread from Port Jackson to Moreton Bay [Brisbane] and beyond, the Port Jackson pidgin is reputed to have been carried along by "the stockmen and sawyers [who supposed it] to be the language of the natives, whilst they suppose[d] it to be ours, and which [was] the ordinary medium of communication between the squatters and the tame black-fellow" (Hodgkinson 1845; cf. Dutton 1983).

MAP 1-AUSTRALIA

showing locations referred to
in chapters 2 and 3.


TORRES STRAIT
Stephen Is.
Mabuiag Is.
Darnley Is.
Port Essington
Milingimbi
Bamaga
Aurukun
Lockhart River
Darwin
Oenpelli
Adelaide River
ARNHEM LAND
Daly River
Yam Creek
Pine Creek
Numbulwar
Umbakumba
Edward River
Kalumburu
Ngukurr
CAPE YORK
PENINSULA
Bamyili
Elsey Stn.
Roper River
Wyndham
Kununurra
Victoria River
Borroloola
Bloomfield River
KIMBERLEYS
Mowanjum
BARKLY TABLELAND
Turkey Creek
Doomadgee
Derby
FITZROY VALLEY
Broome
Halls Creek
Stuart Highway
Brunette Downs
Banka Banka
Noonkanbah
Fitzroy
Crossing
Louisa Downs
Rockhampton Downs
Tennant Creek
Townsville
The Granites
GREAT SANDY DESERT
NORTHERN
TERRITORY
QUEENSLAND
NORTH WEST
CAPE
Tropic of Capricorn
Alice Springs
GIBSON DESERT
Petermann Ranges
WESTERN AUSTRALIA
Oodnadatta
Birdsville Track
Brisbane
Moreton Bay
CHANNEL COUNTRY
GREAT VICTORIA DESERT
SOUTH AUSTRALIA
Darling River
NEW SOUTH WALES
Perth
Sydney
(Port Jackson)
Adelaide
Murray River
VICTORIA
Melbourne
TASMANIA

From Queensland the pidgin is generally reputed to have been taken into the Northern Territory by the pastoralists, who often brought with them a pidgin they had thought useful in communicating with Aborigines in previous localities. Some pastoralists also brought Aboriginal stockmen, who often spoke a pidgin, with them. As contact with new Aborigines took place as they moved into new territory, this pidgin was introduced as the language of communication (Sandefur 1979:12).

The real situation in the Northern Territory, however, is much more complex. It seems certain that not one but a variety of pidgins arose independently of one another, although there was subsequently much interaction of their speakers. The German explorer Ludwig Leichhardt found pidgin speakers hundreds of kilometres inland from the British settlement at Port Essington some thirty years prior to the arrival of the first pastoralists (Leichhardt 1847:495,522). This Port Essington pidgin survived to later become an important influence on the pidgin of Darwin officialdom through the Port Essington Aborigines employed as assistants to customs officers. Other English-based pidgins also developed around early mining camps and along the Adelaide to Darwin Overland Telegraph Line as well as in the pastoral industry which followed the Overland Telegraph Line into the Northern Territory. Thus, as pidgins were developing along the Queensland plantation coast, pidgins had already developed in the Northern Territory and had begun to stabilize by interaction of the speakers (Harris 1984).

The development of pidgins in North Australia was not limited to contact between Europeans and Aborigines. Vaszolyi (1979:254) makes the claim that pidgin in the Kimberleys "has not sprung primarily from Anglo-Australian versus Aboriginal interaction, but rather from the multicultural bustle of northern Australian ports (such as Broome, Derby, Wyndham and Darwin), where Aborigines mixed with Malays, Chinese, Japanese, Philippinos [sic], Thursday Islanders and a variety of other ethnic groups." A similar claim is also made by Sayer (1944:45).

What Vaszolyi and Sayer fail to point out, however, is that the inherent linguistic skills of multilingual Aboriginal speech communities meant that Aborigines very rapidly developed pidginized forms of English when they first encountered the English language. It does not matter whether the language in which they came in contact was the full English language (as might have been the case at Port Essington) or an English-based pidgin (as might have been the case with the Chinese miners or the Queensland cattle drovers who thought all Aborigines understood pidgin English). The result, in circumstances of restricted communication, is essentially the same: a pidgin develops (Bickerton 1977:51). As North Australia became increasingly multicultural around the end of the 19th century, Aborigines entered that complex linguistic context as people already possessing a pidginized form of English (Harris 1984:217).

It is naive, therefore, to speak today of Australian Pidgin English as though there were only one pidgin with only one point of origin. Not only has there been diversity in the origins of Australian pidgins, but there has been diversity in the subsequent development of those pidgins as well. Throughout most of Australia pidgins have been replaced by Aboriginal dialects of English, while in most of North Australia they have developed into creoles.

It has only been recently acknowledged (e.g. Aboriginal Languages Association 1981, Dixon 1980, Sandefur 1983e, Black and Walsh 1982) that there are two major creoles in North Australia: Torres Strait Creole (referred to by some writers as Torres Strait Broken, and used here to include the associated varieties sometimes called Cape York Creole and Lockhart Creole) in the Torres Strait and the north and northeastern part of Cape York Peninsula, and Kriol in the northwestern corner of Queensland, northern half of the Northern Territory and the Kimberleys in Western Australia. Both of these creoles have at least four generations of mother tongue speakers (Shnukal 1981, Sandefur 1981a, Aboriginal Language Association 1981). In the next section I will take a brief look at the relationship which exists between these two creoles. I will then discuss in some detail the relationship between Kriol and varieties of Aboriginal English.

KRIOL AND TORRES STRAIT CREOLE

Kriol and Torres Strait Creole have much in common. Both may have some of their historical roots in the pidgin of the 19th century Queensland sugarcane plantations. Both are spoken by Aborigines and thus share some common sociological features. Both are 'based' on English and therefore draw most of their lexical items from the same lexifier language. Both are referred to by Aborigines as pijin. Nevertheless, although they have so much in common, Kriol and Torres Strait Creole are distinct, albeit related, languages. Each of the foregoing points will now be considered.

Historical Roots

It has often been presumed that Kriol developed directly from the pidgin that was brought into the Northern Territory from Queensland by the pastoralists beginning in the 1870s (Sharpe 1975, Sandefur 1979, 1981d). As noted above, however, Harris (1984) has substantially presented evidence that challenges this presumption. Clark (1979:49) supports Harris' argument when he claims the pidgin which the stockmen brought from Queensland "merged with the existing Aboriginal pidgin to form the basis of modern Roper River Creole [Kriol][17]".

It appears that the pidgin from which Kriol developed first began to creolize in the Roper River area of the Northern Territory. In the early 1870s Roper Bar, twenty-four kilometres upriver from the present day community of Ngukurr, was a supply depot for construction crews of the Overland Telegraph Line. From Roper Bar supplies were taken up the Roper valley to the telegraph line at Elsey Station, thence north or south along the line. This route also served as the first of the two major stock routes for the overlanders from Queensland to the Northern Territory and the Kimberleys, with Roper Bar continuously functioning as a supply depot for the overlanders and being fairly regularly visited by ships from Darwin.

By the turn of the century pidgin was well established in the area. In 1908 the Church Missionary Society established a mission on the Roper River which provided a haven of safety for Aborigines in the midst of extremely violent and disruptive times. Up to two hundred Aborigines from several different language groups lived at the mission during its early years, with fifty to seventy children attending school (Hart 1970:154). This new environment of a multilingual settlement solidified the need for a common language for the Aborigines from the different traditional language groups, especially children who became peers attending an English school in an area where a pidgin was well established. Under such social conditions the language began to creolize. The factors involved in the social changes which brought about creolization in the Roper River area will be discussed in detail in chapter four.

Creolization in most of the other communities in terms of when the language acquired mother tongue speakers appears to have been more recent. The Aboriginal community at Barunga, for example, grew out of a World War Two compound, the establishment of which effectively marks the beginning of creolization there (Thompson 1976, Sandefur 1981f). The impetus for widespread creolization was the changes brought about by the war in conjunction with changes in government policy just after the war. The significance of these changes for creolization will be discussed in chapter four.

The Kimberleys[18] were settled from two directions, the east Kimberleys (which includes Halls Creek) from Queensland, and the west Kimberleys (which includes Fitzroy Crossing) from Perth. Pidgin was well established in both areas of the Kimberleys by the early part of this century (Kaberry 1937:92, 1939:x). The pidgin in the east Kimberleys and the pidgin in the west Kimberleys appear to have been different pidgins, with the eastern pidgin being related to Kriol but not the western pidgin (Hudson 1983a:10). In addition, Vaszolyi (1976, 1979), as mentioned earlier, claims that a pidgin developed around the ports from the intermingling of Aborigines with a host of Asian ethnic minorities. This pidgin, however, appears to have had little influence on the pidgins of the inland area (Hudson 1983a:12).

By the 1940s the eastern pidgin had begun to creolize, thus becoming what was later termed Kriol, whereas the western pidgin had not. In the early 1950s a United Aborigines Mission was established at Fitzroy Crossing. The mission school and nearby government school had a policy of forbidding the children to speak their traditional Aboriginal language. In 1955[19] the government sent a truckload of Aboriginal children whose mother tongue was Kriol from Moola Bulla station near Halls Creek to the Fitzroy Crossing hostel. The hostel children were in immediate and direct contact with these new arrivals and apparently learnt Kriol from them (Hudson 1983a:14).

The parents of the Fitzroy Crossing children, who already spoke the western pidgin, were working on cattle stations in the area and were not influenced by the language of the Halls Creek children as were their children. Today their children, some of whom are now in their thirties, speak Kriol as their mother tongue, while they [the parents] continue to speak the western pidgin as a second language. Since Kriol arrived at Fitzroy Crossing, there has been limited contact with the Kriol speakers at Halls Creek. As a result, Kriol in the two communities has continued development somewhat independently, thus creating two distinct dialects (Hudson 1983a:15). Details of the development of Kriol in other communities has yet to be studied.

Torres Strait Creole, on the other hand, has its roots firmly entrenched in Beach-la-mar or Early Melanesian Pidgin, the English-based pidgin that was well established in the South Seas by 1860 (Bani 1976, Clark 1979, Crowley and Rigsby 1979, and Shnukal 1983a, 1983b). Beach-la-mar became the lingua franca of the 60,000 or so South Sea Islander indentured labourers who were brought to Queensland to work the sugarcane plantations during the second half of the 19th century. Some South Sea Islanders who spoke Beach-la-mar were brought into the Torres Strait region in the second half of the 1800s, some as missionaries with the London Missionary Society but most as labourers in the pearling shell and trepang industries. In addition, some non-repatriated indentured labourers from the sugarcane plantations later settled in the Torres Strait. By 1898 the pidgin was well established on Mabuiag Island (Ray 1907). The pidgin also spread to the Aboriginal people on the north and northeastern coasts of Cape York Peninsula, largely, it appears, through the sandalwood and diving industries.

The historical connection between Kriol and Torres Strait Creole rests in the pidgin used by the indentured labourers[20] of the Queensland sugarcane plantations. It is this pidgin that Clark (1979:49) claims was carried by stockmen to the Northern Territory where it became the basis of Kriol. It is debated among researchers, however, as to whether or not this pidgin was passed from the indentured labourers to the Aborigines of the Queensland sugar area. Reinecke (1937) was the first to raise the question of the relationship of the two but was unable to find enough evidence to answer the question. Flint (1971, 1972) and Wurm (1971a) argue that the pidgin was not passed on to Aborigines. Baker (1945) put forth the unsubstantiated claim that the relation went the other direction, with Aboriginal pidgin being passed on to the indentured labourers. Dutton and Mühlhäusler (1984) and Mühlhäusler (1981) agree with Baker, noting that the Aboriginal pidgin could have been passed on to the labourers who worked on pastoral stations in the inland, although no solid historical evidence supporting this view has yet been located.

The historical relationship of Kriol and Torres Strait Creole, therefore, is very tenuous. Even though further historical research may prove conclusively that the plantation pidgin is a major stock of Kriol, the fact remains that the development of Kriol since the flood of overlanders during the 1880s has proceeded independently of Queensland and Torres Strait Creole and the two languages have since diversified in their development.

Sociological Features

Both Kriol and Torres Strait Creole are spoken as a mother tongue by Aborigines. Although north Queensland Aboriginal culture is not identical with that in the Northern Territory or the Kimberleys, there are many cultural similarities and affinities between the two groups. However, the unifying effect of such cultural affinity is far outweighed by the distinctive influence of Torres Strait Islander culture upon Torres Strait Creole.

Torres Strait Creole was developed initially among Islanders and later spread to Aborigines. The language began creolizing among Islanders before it did among Aborigines, with four generations of Darnley and Stephen Islanders now speaking it as their mother tongue (Shnukal 1983a:175). Of the twenty thousand or so people who speak Torres Strait Creole, the vast majority are Islanders.[21] Socially, the creole spoken by Islanders is distinguished from that spoken by Aborigines. The extent and significance of linguistic variation between the two groups of speakers has yet to be determined (Shnukal 1981). The distinctive Islander ethnic element of Torres Strait Creole, however, clearly distinguishes it from Kriol.

Lexical Differences

Because both Kriol and Torres Strait Creole have English as their lexifier language, it is to be expected that the bulk of their lexemes would be the same or similar. A cognate count of lexical forms would indicate a high degree of mutual intelligibility, but a semantic analysis of the lexicon would most likely show great diversity between the two languages due to the cultural contexts in which the languages have developed. A semantic analysis of some Kriol lexemes is provided by Hudson (1983a), but no such analysis is yet available for Torres Strait Creole, the only accessible material being a small word list (Crowley and Rigsby 1979).[22] Thus a lexical comparison of Kriol and Torres Strait Creole is, at this stage, not possible.

Crowley and Rigsby (1979:205-206) list nine non-English-derived words which are in use in Torres Strait Creole [The reader is referred to the glossary in Appendix 1 for a note on the spelling and etymology of creole examples cited throughout this book.]:

food, eat	*kaikai*
ear	*talinga*
know	*savi*
child, baby	*pikanini*
whiteman	*migolo*
blossom	*kansa*
cook under ashes	*kapamari*
sarong	*lava-lava*
sweet	*susu*

Of these nine, only *savi* and *pikanini*, which are used universally thoughout the world *in pidgins and creoles*, are used in Kriol. Sharpe (1975:2) reports that Kriol speakers in the Roper River area recognize *kaikai*, but it is seldom if ever used in Kriol, and then only by old *people*.

A number of lexical items of the earliest Australian pidgin (such as *gabarra* 'head', *wadi* 'tree', *binji* 'stomach', *jidan* 'camp, stay' and *yuwai* 'yes') are used in Kriol, but they apparently do not occur in Torres Strait Creole. Such differences support the argument that the two had different origins (i.e. Kriol from early Australian pidgin and Torres Strait Creole from Melanesian pidgin via the Torres Strait) (Clark 1979:45).

Grammatical Differences

There are many aspects of the grammar of Kriol and Torres Strait Creole which are similar, but many of these similarities are language or creole universals. It is not possible to give a detailed account of the similarities and differences between the two languages due to the lack of a detailed analysis of Torres Strait Creole. A fairly lengthy sketch of the syntax of Torres Strait Creole as spoken by Aborigines at Bamaga is, however, provided by Crowley and Rigsby (1979). Only a brief outline of syntactic differences will be given here. The Torres Strait Creole examples and analysis given below are taken from Crowley and Rigsby (1979).

In Torres Strait Creole when the subject of a clause is a noun or noun phrase (as opposed to a pronoun) the concord particle *i*, which is unmarked for number, typically precedes the predicate: *Dog i singaut.* 'The dog is barking.' *Plenti maan i kech-im fish daun lo riva.* 'Some men are catching fish down at the river.'

Kriol does not have a concord particle, although it does have a somewhat similar pronominalized copy. When the subject is brought into focus by topicalization (Hudson 1983a:45), it is formally indicated by a pronominalized copy which agrees in number with the subject: *Tharran munanga im longwan.* 'That European is tall.' *Dubala boi dubala bin gajimbat yarlbun.* 'The two boys got some water lily seeds.'

Both Torres Strait Creole and Kriol have a number of aspect and tense words which function as pre- and post-sentence modifiers. Modifiers which are identical or have variant forms in Torres Strait Creole and Kriol include:

Pre-sentence modifiers:

Torres Strait Creole:		Kriol:
mait	(dubitative)	maitbi
baimbai	(distant future)	bambai

Post-sentence modifiers:

Torres Strait Creole:		Kriol:
gen	(repetitive)	gin, igin, gigin
yet	(continuative)	yet
pinis	(completive)	binij, olredi

Modifiers which are distinct in Torres Strait Creole and Kriol include:

Pre-sentence modifiers:

Torres Strait Creole:		Kriol:
stil	(continuative)	—
oredi	(completive)	—
klosap	(immediate future)	tideina

Post-sentence modifiers:

Torres Strait Creole:		Kriol:
trai	(attemptive)	—
nau	(inceptive)	—
wanwan	(sequentive)	na
—	(distant future)	bambai
—	(immediate future)	tideina
—	(frustrative)	najing

For example, Torres Strait Creole: Mait i kam fa luk mi. 'He might come to see me.' Ol kaikai wanwan. 'They ate one after the other.'; and Kriol: Tideina im andi gaman. 'He is coming very soon.' Ai bin lugubat im najing. 'I looked for it but did not find it.'

Torres Strait Creole has directional modifiers (go and kam) which have no counterpart in Kriol: Win bin teik-im peipa go. 'The wind blew the paper away.' Ol bin bring-im kaikai kam pinis. 'They have already brought the food.'

Crowley and Rigsby (1979:191) list only two verbal modifiers for Torres Strait Creole, go (future tense) and bin or bi (past tense): Im go kambek. 'He will return.' Dog i bin kambek. 'The dog has returned.'

Kriol, on the other hand, has an extensive range of verbal modifiers,[23] including bin as past tense and garra as future tense. The form bi functions in Kriol as a copula rather than a verbal modifier; the form go does not occur as a verbal modifier. For example: Ai bin go la Ropa. 'I went to Roper.' Olabat garra bi hepi. 'They will be happy.' Olabat bin bi hepi. 'They were happy.'

Distinct Languages

As was noted in chapter one, the distinction between the notions of 'dialect' and 'language' cannot be made on purely linguistic grounds. The ultimate decision in applying those labels rests with the members of the linguistic communities involved and is determined largely by sociopolitical factors.

Throughout North Australia the label pijin tends to be applied by all Aborigines to Kriol and Torres Strait Creole as well as to New Guinea Pidgin.[24] The label is also applied to varieties of Aboriginal English which are fairly closely related to Kriol or Torres Strait Creole. As will be discussed in the next chapter, some older Aborigines go so far as to consider all varieties of English-related speech to be pijin, which in turn is considered by many of them to be English. Many, if not most, Kriol speakers, however, consider Torres Strait Creole and Kriol to be distinct languages. A Kriol speaker from Ngukurr, for example, who helped undertake a Kriol survey in Queensland (Sandefur et al 1982), tries to point out the distinctness of the two when he says:

> [We] had a talk to one old man there [on the beach at Lockhart River]. He was talking pidgin English, that island pidgin English... I went to the club and had a talk to some people there. Some speak creole but not really Kriol, but some sort of like New Guinea — New Guinea sort of pidgin English, and they could understand us, what we said, and what we meant, but they couldn't speak [it]. Anyway, [they were] well spoken by English and half spoken by Solomon Island sort of creole.[25]

KRIOL AND ABORIGINAL ENGLISH

In addition to the two creoles described in the above section, there are varieties of Aboriginal English spoken in virtually all parts of Australia. The term 'Aboriginal English' [hereafter AE] is used by Kaldor and Malcolm (1982) mainly to denote varieties of English-related Aboriginal speech on a continuum between Standard Australian English[26] [hereafter SAE] and creole. The continuum is composed of "numerous varieties of Aboriginal English imperceptibly merging into each other" (Kaldor and Malcolm 1982:112). Like other non-standard dialects of English, however, AE "has its own characteristic structures and is by no means just random deviation from an expected norm" (Kaldor and Malcolm 1982:110).

Varieties of AE and Terminological Confusion

The first in-depth study of the English-related speech of Aborigines was carried out in the 1960s in Queensland (Flint 1968). The results of the study indicated "linguistic variation between the extremes" of a 'low' form and a 'high' form, the latter approximating General Australian English (Flint 1972:152), thus giving the appearance of a post-creole continuum. There were, however, two forms of 'low' extremes. The one was in the Torres Strait Islands where "the informal English is somewhat different from Queensland Aboriginal English" and on the tip of Cape York Peninsula where Aboriginal children "are acquiring the speech habits of the Islands children living on the same reserve" (Dutton 1970:153). This latter point implies that the Aboriginal children are moving away from the more English-like AE variety of speech in favour of the so-called 'lower' Islander creole variety of speech. The other 'low' extreme was in "one far north-western community" where the 'low' form differed in certain respects from AE elsewhere in the state (Flint 1972:157). These two linguistically different 'low' extremes are what are known today as Torres Strait Creole and Kriol respectively.

During the 1970s a similar study was undertaken of the English-related speech of Aborigines in Western Australia (Malcolm 1979, Kaldor and Malcolm 1982). This study showed, as did the Queensland study, that AE is not a single homogeneous variety of speech. Although there was considerable variation between children in a given locality, it was possible to identify a large number of features which kept reappearing. Some of these features were widespread throughout Western Australia, with some of them being common to AE in other states. Other features were characteristic of specific regions of Western Australia. A few features were restricted to particular localities.

Kaldor and Malcolm (1982) occasionally include creole under the label of Aboriginal English to distinguish it from traditional Aboriginal languages and to point to the fact that its vocabulary is mainly English-based. They point out, however, that "creoles are languages with their own specific grammatical/semantic properties..." (1982:110). Eagleson (1982a:20) somewhat similarly points out elsewhere in the same volume that "the creole must be seen as a distinct language." There is, however, much confusion in the literature on the definition of terms and the identification in the field of the varieties of speech to which the terms are applied.[27] Some writers consider creole to merely be a variety of AE which is far removed from SAE. On the other hand, some consider any variety of AE which has relatively recently become the mother tongue of a group of children to be a creole.

Most varieties of AE are typically conceived of as geographical varieties or dialects. A conference on education, for example,

> recognized that most of the children in the Kimberleys Region have some knowledge of the sounds and structure of English woven into distinctive patterns of their own community and called variously "Derby English", "Broome English" etc. under the general name of Aboriginal English (Brumby 1975:[23]).

Some varieties of AE are linguistically very close to or are identical with "white non-standard" Australian English (Kaldor and Malcolm 1982, Eagleson 1982b). Eades (1981, 1982, 1983) points out, however, that the sociolinguistic rules of usage of such varieties of AE are distinctively Aboriginal.

Very few studies of AE have distinguished between varieties of AE which are spoken as a first language and AE which is spoken as a variety of English-as-a-second-language or interlanguage. Varieties of first-language AE are distinct dialects spoken as the mother tongue and used as the primary language for intragroup communication. Everyone who speaks this type of AE is, therefore, a fluent speaker of at least one dialect of English. This type of AE would include, for example, 'Neo-Nyungar' in the southwest of Western Australia (Douglas 1976), 'Baryulgil Banjalang Australian' in northern New South Wales (Fraser 1980), possibly the Darwin sociolect mentioned by Jernudd (1971:22) and those spoken on settlements in Queensland (e.g. Palm Island and Cherbourg) where detribalized Aborigines live (Readdy 1961, Dutton 1964b, 1965, 1969).

One of the very few studies that is specifically identified as concentrating on the English Aborigines speak as a second language is provided by Elwell (1979). This type of AE, or English interlanguage, consists of a variety of utterances, standard or otherwise, which are produced by learners of a second language as they attempt to speak the target language but fail to achieve native speaker fluency. The proficiency they achieve varies greatly. Elwell found that in Milingimbi in the Northern Territory, the Aboriginal speakers' proficiency in speaking English ranged from "no English at all" to a form closely approximating SAE, with relatively few speakers at either end of the range. Most speakers of this type of AE fall on a continuum between a basilang extreme of 'no English' and an acrolang extreme of SAE.

The grammar of this interlanguage type AE consists of several kinds of constructions. These include 'fossilizations' generated and perpetuated by Aborigines themselves, fossilizations reinforced by non-Aboriginal people through their attempt to speak the mother tongue of the AE speakers, relatively systematic rule-governed non-standard features, sporadically occurring non-standard features, and features common to SAE (Elwell 1979:101). Elwell (1979:100) points out that it is completely inappropriate to refer to such AE as creole since no one speaks it as their mother tongue, nor is such AE a pidgin for it is not a stabilized form of English that is used as an auxiliary contact language.

The major reason the literature fails to generally distinguish between these two types of AE probably lies in the theoretical and practical difficulties of making the distinction. It was pointed out in the preceding chapter that linguists are still trying to develop a theoretical framework which would enable us to describe variation in language adequately. Practical difficulties in making distinctions between these two types of AE are largely related to the collection of data. Douglas (1976:15), Flint (1972:154-155) and Sandefur (1982a) have all noted problems in collecting data on the English-related speech of Aborigines. One of the problems is that the presence of an outsider results in the modification of an Aboriginal person's speech. In the presence of a non-Aboriginal person, speech is normally shifted in the direction of SAE. The difficulty then lies in separating the shifted speech from normal speech.

Elwell was able to focus on the interlanguage type AE without this difficulty because every Aboriginal in the community she studied spoke a traditional Aboriginal language as their mother tongue. Every use of English, therefore, was a shift from their normal speech and easily identified as English interlanguage. In most studies of AE, however, the normal everyday speech of Aborigines is an English-based variety of speech. In such situations, English interlanguage is not easily separated from their first language.

Historical Relationships

One of my arguments in this book is that Kriol is a language distinct from, albeit related to, AE. Part of this argument rests on the fact that Kriol has no historical connection with most varieties of AE. There is, for example, no direct historical relationship between Milingimbi AE and Kriol. Milingimbi AE is not a decreolized form of Kriol, nor have the two speech varieties developed from the same or related pidgins. The only link between them is that (a) both are spoken by Aborigines and (b) both are 'based' on English. The result of (a) is that both Kriol and Milingimbi AE have in common some Aboriginal semantic structures, and the result of (b) is that both languages have in common most of their lexical forms (although not necessarily the semantics of the lexemes) since their lexemes are derived for the most part from English. The placement of Kriol and Milingimbi AE on a post-creole continuum could only be done on the basis of a typological comparison with a selected linguistic norm (i.e. SAE). Such a continuum, however, could not be considered to be an historical decreolization continuum, for Kriol and Milingimbi AE are spoken by two totally separate and distinct speech communities.

The historical development of other varieties of AE has received very little attention. It has generally been assumed that most varieties have come about as a result of decreolization. Kaldor and Malcolm (1982:78), however, point out that

> it is not clear, at the present stage of knowledge about Aboriginal English, whether a full cycle of pidginisation - creolisation - decreolisation did, in fact, occur everywhere in Australia, including places where there is no trace of a creole today. In many areas there may have been a transition from pidgin to a non-standard form of English closer to Standard Australian English without an intervening creole stage.

It appears that some varieties of AE have developed, not through decreolization of a creole, but through 'depidginization' of a pidgin, a process which has received very little attention from creolists.

Depidginization is mostly associated with studies of second language acquisition and generally refers to "the gradual and progressive acquisition" of the target language (Anderson 1980:275). It is analogous to the later stage of SLA, at least in the view of those who accept the validity of the pidginization hypothesis of SLA as discussed in chapter one. The process of depidginization, within that framework, is not limited to operating on a pidgin language as such. In parallel with Mühlhäusler's (1980:32) claim that creolization can take place at any pre-creole stage of a developmental continuum, so depidginization can begin to operate at any pre-pidgin stage. In the SLA context, the process of depidginization flows from the process of pidginization whether or not a stabilized pidgin emerges.

Elwell's (1979) study shows that not only have some varieties of AE not developed through decreolization of a creole, but they have not developed through depidginization of a pidgin either. It appears, for example, that AE at Aurukun in Queensland has not been derived from a pidgin (or creole) (Sayers 1980). The Nyungar AE spoken in the southwest of Western Australia similarly "shows no evidence of historical connection with other pidgin traditions in Australia or elsewhere" (Clark 1979:63). The conclusion is plain enough: most varieties of AE are clearly distinct from Kriol historically.

Grammatical Distinctness

Most varieties of AE are also distinct from Kriol with regard to their grammatical structures. A comparison of Nyungar AE (Douglas 1976) or Sydney urban AE (Eagleson 1982b) shows very few grammatical similarities with Kriol other than those which Kriol shares with English. It should be pointed out, however, that the features of urban AE

> are not distinctively Aboriginal in origin or nature. These are precisely the same features that characterise non-standard white English... They are certainly characteristic of the speech of a large section of the white population among whom the urban Aborigines live and with whom they have most contact (Eagleson 1982b:138).

Some varieties of AE share features with Kriol which are not features of 'non-standard white English'. These varieties tend to be spoken in the same area as Kriol (Flint 1971, Kaldor and Malcolm 1982). The distinctively Kriol grammatical features which are found in (children's)[28] AE are discussed below. Except where noted, the varieties of AE referred to are in Western Australia as described by Kaldor and Malcolm (1982). References to AE in Alice Springs are based on research by Sharpe (1976b, 1977). The AE examples cited below, which are written with an impressionistic modification of standard spelling to enable the reader to recognize words easily, are quoted from Kaldor and Malcolm (1982). Some of the Kriol examples from the western dialects[29] have been quoted from Hudson (1983a).

Possessive is marked in Kriol by *blanga* or *fo* [*fo* is not widely used in the eastern dialects]: *Det dog fo im bin go longwei.* 'His dog went a long way.' It is often marked in AE in central and east Kimberleys by *for*: *'e said you are new teacher for us*; and sometimes by a derivative of *belong* in northern areas: *Yvonne bong apple* 'Yvonne's apple'.

The determiners *wanbala* or *wan* [*wan* especially in the Fitzroy Valley dialect] is used in Kriol in place of *a*, *an*: *Ai bin luk wanbala dog.* 'I saw a dog.' In AE *one* is extensively used in place of *a*, *an* statewide and occasionally in Alice Springs: *My daddy went to Derby to hire one car.*

As regards pronouns, *im* and *i* are used in Kriol [*i* especially in the western dialects] for all genders in the third person singular: *I bin boldan.* 'She fell down.' In AE *he* and *'e* tend to be used statewide for 'he, she, it' but only occasionally by some children in Alice Springs: *this old woman he started packing up*. The Kriol pronoun system includes dual/plural and inclusive/exclusive distinctions. These pronouns are sometimes used in AE in the Kimberleys: *yupala shut up first*; *mintupela fall down dere la back* ('You guys shut up first; the two of us fall down there in the back').

Kriol adjectives normally occur with the suffix -*wan* or -*bala*: *Ai bin luk dubala bigwan.* 'I saw two big ones.' AE in rural areas usually adds *one* to adjectives which follow the noun: *we get five sheeps fat one*. Numerals and adjectives in AE in the central and east Kimberleys may have the suffix -*pala* or -*pela*; in other areas the form -*fella* occurs mainly with numerals and pronouns.

The Kriol prepositions *la* and *langa* are used to indicate a variety of locational relationships: *Imin dirriwu la riba.* 'He dived into the river.' AE in the Kimberleys uses *la* or *longa* for a variety of locational relationships in addition to the English prepositions: *'e did kickim with the foot la head*. Kriol uses *garra* to express the relationship 'with': *Wi bin siyim garra orla kid.* 'We saw her with her children.' AE in the Kimberleys also uses *got* or *gotta* to express 'with': *we always play got blocks*.

Past tense in Kriol is indicated by the use of *bin*: *Melabat bin dagat.* 'We ate.' AE in the Kimberleys, in some desert regions and along the Northwest coast use *bin* as the regular marker of past tense: *after that, nurse bin come in and give us good hiding*. Children from camps around Alice Springs often use *bin* for the past tense in contrast to the other children who use the English inflection.

Kriol marks transitivity by the suffix -*im* or one of its variants: *Olabat bin kilim gowana.* 'They killed a goanna.' In AE there is a strong tendency in the Kimberleys to mark transitivity by the suffix -*im*: *we seeim buffalo got big horn*.

Continuous aspect is indicated in Kriol with the suffix -bat: Olabat bin kukumbat yem. 'They were cooking yams.' Some AE speakers in the Kimberleys distinguish continuous from non-continuous aspect through the use of the suffix -bat: 'e bin tellimbat R. to go in that place E. bin drown '[he] kept telling R. to go to the place where E. went under.'

Future tense is indicated in Kriol by garra or gona [gona is not used in the Fitzroy Valley dialect]: Ai garra kukum dempa. 'I will cook the damper.' In AE in the Kimberleys and Alice Springs, gotta occurs interchangeably with gonna to express future tense: an' mela new teacher gotta come ('and our new teacher will come').

Existential constructions in Kriol use i garra or dei garra, among others, to form existential clauses: I garra wan big eligeida la riba. 'There is a big saltwater crocodile in the river.' AE mainly in the northern areas uses 'e got to form the existential: 'e got plen'y banana tree dere.

Kriol forms yes-no questions by adding a special question intonation to a statement construction, often adding a question tag as well: Imin go tharrei, indit? 'He went that way, didn't he?' AE in the northern and desert regions frequently forms yes-no questions by adding a special question intonation to a statement construction, often adding the query word eh: He can walk to Newry, eh?

The features described in the foregoing are summarized below.

SUMMARY OF FEATURES COMMON TO KRIOL AND ABORIGINAL ENGLISH

Feature	Kriol form	AE form	AE location
possessive	**fo, blanga**	**for**	Kimberleys
		belong	Kimberleys, northern area
determiners	**wan, wanbala**	**one**	all areas
pronouns	**im, i**	**he, 'e**	all areas
	dual/plural	[same]	Kimberleys
adjectives	**-wan**	**one**	rural areas
	-bala	**pala, pela**	Kimberleys
prepositions	**langa**	**longa**	Kimberleys
	garra	**gotta**	Kimberleys
past tense	**bin**	**bin**	Kimberleys, desert, northwest coast
transitivity	**-im**	**-im**	Kimberleys
continuous aspect	**-bat**	**-bat**	Kimberleys
future tense	**garra**	**gotta**	Kimberleys
existential	**i garra**	**'e got**	Kimberleys, northern area
questions	[intonation tag]	[same]	Kimberleys, desert, northern area

ONE GRAND ABORIGINAL ENGLISH SYSTEM?

All of the varieties of speech discussed in the foregoing sections should, according to some views (e.g. Bickerton 1975), be treated as forming a single linear continuum. To consider them to be dialects of the one language, let alone three distinct 'languages', would be tantamount to arbitrarily and inaccurately parcelling up a unitary system. A unitary approach, however, takes no account of social and cultural correlates or the historical origins of the varieties of speech. To analyze such a diverse range of varieties as a single unidimensional continuum which totally ignores the sociolinguistic and historical components of the situation "cannot begin to do it justice" (Haynes 1979:338).

I have already noted that the historical development of Kriol has no direct connection with many of the varieties of AE spoken in Australia today. The origins of varieties of English-related speech of Australian Aborigines are so diversified that it would be impossible to identify a single creole as the basilect. The only link between Kriol and Torres Strait Creole and all varieties of AE is that they are all based on English as their lexifier language and any decreolizing influence they undergo is therefore in the direction of English. To consider the linguistic variation of Kriol, Torres Strait Creole and all varieties of AE as forming one synchronic, dynamic system results in the abstraction of a purely linguistic system which has little direct relation with actual "flesh-and-blood speakers", to use Bickerton's (1975:203) term.

It should be pointed out, however, that Kriol does have direct connections with some varieties of AE. As a result, if consideration is restricted to the Kriol speech community rather than encompassing the Australian-wide English-related Aboriginal speech community, then the question needs to be asked: Does not the total variety of English-related speech of Aborigines within the Kriol speech community form a single dynamic system which consists of a unified linear continuum connecting Kriol at the basilectal end and SAE at the acrolectal end? Before that question can be answered, however, the term 'Kriol speech community' must be clarified.

THE KRIOL 'SPEECH COMMUNITY'

There is much disagreement among researchers as to the meaning and usefulness of notions such as 'speech community' and 'language community'. Rigsby and Sutton (1982) especially question the appropriateness of applying such terms to Aboriginal Australia, claiming that they only obscure analyses and descriptions. They argue that what should be used are the primary social anthropological terms that appropriately characterize the social structure and organization, whether traditional or not, of the people being described. Kriol, however, is spoken by such a diversity of traditional groupings of Aborigines that none of the anthropological terms typically applied to Aboriginal society, such as 'land-holding group' and 'local residence group', are broad enough to cover the area in which Kriol is in use. Even the use of the term 'community' in the Australian Aboriginal linguistic context is questioned by Rigsby and Sutton (1982:13) because of the "denotative and connotative baggage of its more general social science definition".

According to Himes (1968), the concept of community in social science has two different although related emphases. Some social scientists employ the term to refer to an area of consensus and a field of communication. In this usage, a community is a psycho-social field structure which both facilitates and harmonizes social action. Other social scientists employ the term to refer to a definite human collectivity located within a delimitable geographical area. Himes (1968:150) formulates a working definition that fuses these two emphases into a single statement:

> The concept community refers to a functionally interdependent human collectivity, residing and acting within a delimitable geographic area, persisting through time, sharing culture that establishes an area of consensus, and maintaining systems of communication and organized activities.

An eclectic definition such as Himes' is not without problems in North Australia. If the focus were upon the delimitable geographic area, many communities could be identified by their 'gazetted' physical boundaries. If the focus were upon shared culture and common consensus, two communities which would cut across most geographically defined communities would be identifiable very quickly: Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal.

It is precisely because of conflicting applications that some researchers argue that the term community should not be used at all. The term is, however, a useful one in describing certain major social groupings within the area in which Kriol is spoken provided that a workable definition may be found.

In its popular usage by both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in the area in which Kriol is spoken, the term community normally refers to a geographically definable collectivity of people. The whole of North Australia is sparsely populated. Taken together, the Northern Territory, Queensland and Western Australia cover some five and a half million square kilometres with a total population of just under three and a half million. The three capital cities account for more than fifty percent of that population, resulting in a population density in the 'outback' of about one person per every three square kilometres. Virtually all of the outback population live in geographically delimited communities. Many of these communities are gazetted, some with town development plans directing their physical development. All of them have names and are recognized as basically independent communities by members of not only the community itself but surrounding communities as well. It is in this sense that I primarily use the term community in this book, i.e. to refer to a geographically delimitable and identifiable collectivity of people.

Aboriginal Community

In North Australia the term community is used in a further, more specific sense. It often refers specifically to an Aboriginal settlement in contrast to an incorporated town. Following this colloquial usage, the second way in which I use the term in this book is to refer to a residential collectivity of Aboriginal people in a delimitable locale. Such a community may be an isolated Aboriginal settlement, but it may also be a community within a community.

The common element in both uses of the term community is delimitable locale. When the distinction between the two uses is significant, I refer to the first as simply 'community' while specifying the second as 'Aboriginal community'. In many cases the two are the same; in a few cases there are several Aboriginal communities within the one wider community.

Part of my reason for defining community primarily in terms of locale is that the site of a community serves as a focus of psycho-social orientation. Berndt (1961:17) points out that language and locality "are sometimes taken as referring in combination to 'tribal' affiliation".

One aspect of this affiliation is the consideration of a specific locale as 'home'. Among Kriol speakers there is a very strong tie with the community in which a person grows up. When a Kriol speaker moves away from the community in which he grew up, he still maintains a close link with that community psychologically. Although he may be away physically for many years, he will still identify as being from that community. He sees the community, however, not in terms of the man-made structures, but rather in terms of the locale. He identifies with the kantri or land on which the community is located. This becomes particularly clear when the community in which a person grew up is no longer in existence. Only the land on which the community was once located remains and the socio-psychological tie the person has with it. It should be pointed out, however, that the Kriol speaker's notion of 'home' is not limited to the kantri in which he grew up, but is often expanded to embrace the larger stretch of kantri in which he may reside in later years (cf. Berndt 1961:21).

The Problem of 'Speech Community'

The term 'speech community', which has been extensively used in the sociolinguistic literature, is just as difficult to define as is the term community in general. Silverstein (1972) identifies three significant parameters that are useful in defining two basic types of speech communities. The first parameter, taken from Meillet (1926), is the intention to speak the same language. Members of a community have the feeling or 'know' that they speak the same language. The second parameter, taken from Bloomfield (1933), is the sharing of a common grammar by members of a social group. The third parameter, also taken from Bloomfield (1933), is the interaction of a group of people by means of speech. This third parameter does not require a shared grammar.

A community in Silverstein's (1972:46) framework is considered to be a 'language community' when the first two parameters are present, i.e. people consider themselves to speak the same language and they share substantially the same grammar. Where these two parameters are absent but communicative interaction nevertheless takes place, the community is a 'speech community'. This distinction between language community and speech community is motivated by the parallel distinction between language, which is a cultural and mental phenomenon, and speech, which is a behavioural and actional phenomenon (cf. Rigsby and Sutton 1982:13).

We have seen that community as defined primarily in terms of shared culture and consensus cuts across the boundaries of geographical community. Similarly, language community and speech community as defined by Silverstein also cut across geographical community. The majority of the Aboriginal population in most of the geographical communities in the area in which Kriol is spoken would form, in Silverstein's terms, a (Kriol) language community. Similarly, the non-Aboriginal people in all of those communities would form an (English) language community. Communication between the two groups would then form the basis of a speech community. Most geographical communities, all regions of the area in which Kriol is spoken, and the whole area itself could form speech communities of various levels. Indeed, at the highest level, the whole of Australia could be considered to form a speech community. Going the other direction, within a Kriol language community there would also be traditional language communities. Community defined in terms of speech thus lacks specificity and hence usefulness.

In this book I will therefore avoid the use of terms such as speech community, language community and linguistic community. Instead, I will talk about speech and language in the context of primarily geographically definable communities and areas. In respect of the latter, it is helpful to describe the global aspects of the use of Kriol in terms of three types of linguistic areas which have relatively definable boundaries (Laycock 1979:92):

> (1) 'communication area' is the area in which a speaker can still manage to communicate by the use of any languages he knows;
>
> (2) 'language currency area' is the area in which a single language is effective for communication purposes; and
>
> (3) 'language area' is the area in which a particular language is the first language learnt and/or is the primary language of the majority of the population.

Kriol Communication Area

The communication area for Kriol speakers varies from speaker to speaker, depending upon the individual's linguistic knowledge and ability. Many Kriol speakers are fluent speakers of fairly standard English. For them the communication area is essentially the English-speaking world, and indeed some have travelled overseas. It should be mentioned, however, that some Kriol speakers who can speak English fluently restrict their potential communication area through shyness or lack of confidence in their performance of the non-Aboriginal social graces. When placed in a 'foreign' environment, which does not necessarily mean an overseas environment, they 'refuse' to speak. This same non-communication can also take place in their home communities in the presence of non-Aboriginal Australian who are not sensitive to cross-cultural communication problems.

The communication area is also enlarged or restricted for individual Kriol speakers depending upon their knowledge of traditional Aboriginal languages. This is especially so regarding the northeast Arnhem Land languages and the Desert languages. A few Kriol speakers have enlarged their communication area through knowledge of languages other than English and Aboriginal languages. For example, a Kriol speaker employed by the Main Roads Department in Western Australia as a grader driver learnt to speak Greek from the Greek grader drivers he worked with. Such knowledge, however, is rare.

Kriol Language Currency Area

In talking about the language currency area of Kriol, one needs to add some restrictions to the definition proposed in the foregoing section.

All Aboriginal communities and virtually all Kriol speakers have some interaction with non-Aboriginal people. For many individuals this may, in the main, be limited to the checkout person in a store and health sister at a clinic. For the community as such, interaction is often via the community council with government officers relating to the financing and servicing of the community, e.g. personnel from the departments of Aboriginal Affairs, Community Development, Welfare, Social Security, Health, Education and Essential Services. Council members and employees are usually involved with direct communication with these non-Aboriginal persons. Children in most communities are also in contact with non-Aboriginal people, i.e. school teachers. In addition, most Aboriginal communities have non-Aboriginal residents in or adjacent to the community.

The majority of non-Aboriginal people who have interaction with Kriol speakers do not speak Kriol, and Kriol is not effective for communication with most of them. Neither is English an effective medium that non-Aboriginal people can use for communication with the majority of the Aboriginal residents of many of these communities.

It is impossible, then, to say that Kriol has a language currency area if the definition of the term is interpreted as being the area in which a single language is effective for communication purposes _for everyone in the area_. To be applied to Kriol the term needs to be qualified by restricting the communication purposes to _between and with Aboriginal residents in the area_.

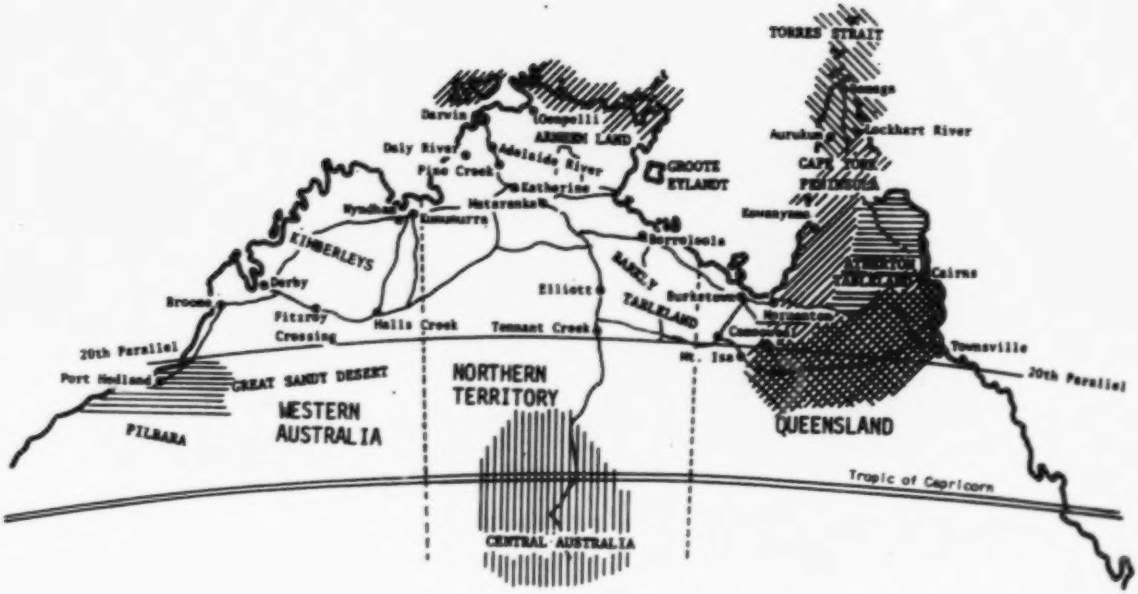
A qualification should probably also be added to the term 'a single language'. In some Aboriginal communities Kriol is understood but not spoken by the residents. A Kriol speaker visiting such a community can speak Kriol to residents and be understood. The speech of the community in many cases is a creole or a variety of AE which the Kriol speaker may not be able to speak but does understand (Sandefur et al 1982). In such a situation, two languages may be used in a conversation, but the Kriol speaker is able to communicate by speaking only Kriol. The qualification, then, is that the Kriol speaker need only _speak_ a single language in order to communicate.

With the above two qualifications, the language currency area for Kriol, as shown on Map 2, can be said to be most of that area north of the 20th parallel. The evidence indicates that Queensland communities south and east of Mt. Isa are excluded from the Kriol currency area. The situation with communities in the northern half of Cape York Peninsula and in the islands in the Torres Strait is unconfirmed, although most are presumed to be excluded. There is some unconfirmed evidence to indicate that some of the communities on the islands off the north coast of the Northern Territory and in northeast Arnhem Land as well as some of the Cape York communities may be included in the Kriol currency area. Some of the Aboriginal population of communities on the Atherton Tableland and northeast coast of Queensland as well as the northern Pilbara area of Western Australia appear to understand Kriol, but as a whole these areas are not included in the Kriol currency area. Unconfirmed reports indicate that much of central Australia, however, may be included in the Kriol currency area.

Kriol Language Area

The Kriol language area, as is understood at present, is shown in detail on Map 3. Throughout the area shown on the map, Kriol functions as a primary language in most Aboriginal communities. Communities in which Kriol is not a primary language are not included on the map, although they are physically located within the general geographical area the Kriol language area covers. It should also be noted that not everyone in all of the communities in the Kriol language area is a Kriol speaker. Non-Aboriginal residents are, of course, mostly speakers of standard or non-standard Australian English. Further, there are many Aborigines who are not Kriol speakers, especially in the towns (e.g. Wyndham and Darwin). These non-Kriol-speaking Aborigines will be discussed later.

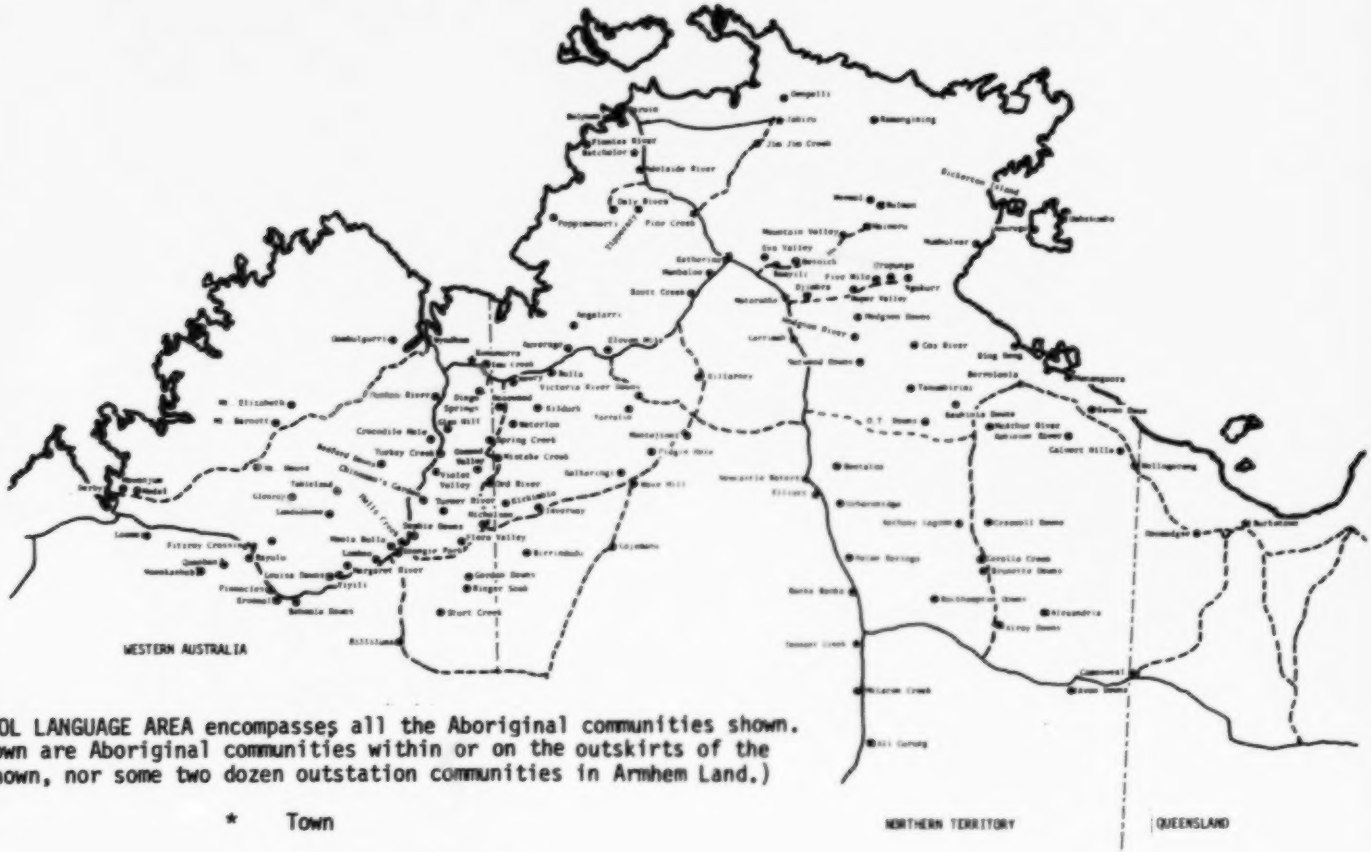
MAP 2- THE KRIOL LANGUAGE CURRENCY AREA


TORRES STRAIT
Aurukun
Lockhart River
CAPE YORK
PENINSULA
Kowanyama
Cairns
Darwin
Oenpelli
ARNHEM LAND
Daly River
Adelaide River
Pine Creek
Katherine
GROOTE
EYLANDT
Wyndham
Kununurra
Mataranka
Borroloola
KIMBERLEYS
Derby
Broome
Elliott
BARKLY
TABLELAND
Burketown
Normanton
Fitzroy
Crossing
Halls Creek
Tennant Creek
Camooweal
20th Parallel
Mt. Isa
Townsville
20th Parallel
Port Hedland
GREAT SANDY DESERT
WESTERN
AUSTRALIA
NORTHERN
TERRITORY
QUEENSLAND
PILBARA
Tropic of Capricorn
CENTRAL AUSTRALIA

The KRIOL LANGUAGE CURRENCY AREA includes virtually all the white area north of the 20th parallel. Shadings represent areas of uncertainty as follows:

- ■ Evidence indicates is excluded.
- ▧ Unconfirmed, but presumed to be excluded.
- ■ Unconfirmed, but evidence indicates is included.
- ▥ Unconfirmed, but reports indicate may be included.
- ▤ Individual knowledge of Kriol, but communities excluded.

MAP 3 - THE KRIOL LANGUAGE AREA


Darwin
Batchelor
Adelaide River
Daly River
Pine Creek
Oenpelli
Jabiru
Jim Jim Creek
Ramingining
Mountain Valley
Eva Valley
Beswick
Bamyili
Five Mile
Ngukurr
Roper Valley
Mataranka
Larrimah
Katherine
Scott Creek
Eleven Mile
Victoria River Downs
Killarney
Wave Hill
Lajamanu
Newcastle Waters
Elliott
Borroloola
Robinson River
Calvert Hills
Wollogorang
Doomadgee
Burketown
Camooweal
Tennant Creek
Ali Curung
Wyndham
Kununurra
Turkey Creek
Crocodile Hole
Doon Doon
Halls Creek
Fitzroy Crossing
Derby
Looma
Mt. Elizabeth
Mt. Barnett
Gordon Downs
Ringer Soak
Sturt Creek
Billiluna
WESTERN AUSTRALIA
NORTHERN TERRITORY
QUEENSLAND

The KRIOL LANGUAGE AREA encompasses all the Aboriginal communities shown. (Not shown are Aboriginal communities within or on the outskirts of the towns shown, nor some two dozen outstation communities in Arnhem Land.)

*	Town
●	Aboriginal Community
——	Main Highway
- - -	Secondary Highway

As Map 3 indicates, there are over 250 Aboriginal communities in the kriol language area. These communities exhibit much diversity in their makeup. They range from isolated communities of less than two dozen people to 'aggregate' communities with a combined population in excess of a thousand. Some of the smaller isolated communities have no resident Europeans. On the other hand, some of the Aboriginal communities are part of a wider town-type community of which the majority of the population is non-Aboriginal. Some Aboriginal communities are run by an elected council, while other communities are run by a 'self-appointed' individual, in many cases an Aboriginal, but in some cases a non-Aboriginal person. Some communities have government services such as school and clinic provided, whereas others do not.

In spite of the great diversity exhibited by the communities in the Kriol language area, it is possible to categorize the communities on the basis of their origin and development. Such a categorization helps to highlight major differences in the social structure of the communities — differences that have an influence on the use of Kriol. To a degree this categorization also correlates with the major patterns of movement of people between communities and their networks of communication. It should be noted, however, that rapid changes are presently occurring in many of these communities. In some cases, communities have undergone complete restructuring; in others, whole communities have been moved to a new location.

There are four main types of communities in the Kriol language area: (a) cattle stations, (b) missions and settlements, (c) outstation or homeland centres, and (d) towns. Each of these will be discussed in turn.

Cattle Stations

With the entrance of the non-Aboriginal people taking up residence on the land, settled communities of Aborigines quickly developed. The first such communities were mainly in association with cattle stations beginning in the late 1870s. Every station utilized Aborigines as stockmen, in the first four or five decades often attempting to eradicate the 'wild blacks' who could not be 'pacified' and 'harnessed' as labourers. Typically, relatives of the Aboriginal stockmen took up residence near the station homestead and were given rations by the station, with some of the women working as domestics. This led to the development of today's cattle station communities.

The cattle station communities are typically small, ranging from a single extended family to several hundred residents. With few exceptions the vast majority of the population on cattle stations is Aboriginal. English-speaking non-Aboriginal people have always been numerically a minor part of the population, although until recently they have always held a dominating position over the Aborigines. With so few English speakers there has been little effective influence exerted on the Aborigines as a whole to acquire SAE.

In general the Aborigines on cattle stations are mainly of one or two traditional language groups, and they originally tended to use Kriol (or its pidgin forerunner) for communication with outsiders, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, rather than among themselves. As a result, creolization in these communities tended to take place at a relatively late date. As mentioned earlier and will be discussed in greater detail in chapter four, social changes brought about by World War Two and the government assimilation policies in the early 1950s provided a major impetus for creolization. Two of the main factors affecting creolization were an increasing participation in cattle droving during the 1950s and into the 1960s as well as increased efforts at providing schooling for the children. The result is that in a fairly wide area of North Australia, middle-aged and older Aborigines speak a traditional Aboriginal language as their first language and Kriol as their second, whereas the children now speak Kriol as their first language, usually with a passive knowledge of the traditional language (McConvell 1982:66).

Cattle station communities in general continued to be given rations by and provide a labour pool for the non-Aboriginal-owned and operated stations until the late 1960s. In the 1960s and 1970s several events took place which significantly altered Aboriginal community life on these stations. The first was the 1967 Referendum which gave citizenship to Aborigines. In conjunction with this was the granting of award wages and social security benefits to Aborigines. Aboriginal stockmen could no longer be employed for the price of 'handouts'. Added to this was the slump in the cattle industry in the early 1970s. The combined result was that many cattle stations could no longer afford to employ Aboriginal stockmen. Many of the owners then did not wish to maintain an Aboriginal community presence on the station.

In some cases the Aboriginal community remained on the station maintaining their old lifestyle. At the other extreme, however, some Aboriginal communities were physically forced off the station. With the additional factor of the move for Aboriginal land rights in the 1970s, many of the Aboriginal communities on cattle stations are now situated on a block of land excised from the pastoral lease. Aboriginal communities which are not located on their own land are generally not officially recognized as communities by the government. In several cases, some of the Aborigines have chosen to remain on the non-Aboriginal-owned cattle station rather than move to the newly established independent Aboriginal community. This has resulted in the existence of two Aboriginal communities in relatively close proximity (e.g. Louisa Downs and Yiyili). In a few cases, the Aborigines purchased the cattle station outright and are now running it as their own station (e.g. Noonkanbah and Dunham River). In virtually all cases, direct contact and domination by English-speaking non-Aboriginal people has diminished during the last decade, thus reducing exposure of Kriol speakers to SAE and decreasing its influence on their use of Kriol.

Until the last decade or so relatively few cattle station communities had direct access to schooling. Today, however, many have a small school provided by the government, particularly in the Northern Territory. A few have established their own independent community schools (e.g. Noonkanbah and Yiyili). The motivation for starting independent schools has varied. Most have been started, at least in part, in an effort to promote traditional language and culture maintenance. At least one such school, however, was started in an effort to reduce the negative influence of town life upon the children.[30] Parents in cattle station communities without schools who desire their children to 'get an education' normally send them to the larger communities, in most cases towns, for schooling. Children who are sent away often undergo a degree of social reorientation. They move out of a more tightly controlled and predominantly traditional-oriented community into a more permissive and promiscuous European-oriented environment. The effect this has on their speech will be briefly discussed in the next chapter.

In many respects, much of the population of cattle station communities has tended to be transient. There has typically always been a seasonal movement of people to and from cattle stations. During the dry season when the cattle were being worked, there would be a high population on the station. During the wet season, on the other hand, when cattle work was at a minimum, a sizeable portion of the population would shift to the towns or missions and settlements.

Missions and Settlements

The first missions in the Kriol language area were established some three or four decades after the first cattle stations, with government settlements generally starting to come into operation in the 1940s. The motivation of the church bodies and that of the government in developing these communities differed considerably. Missions were started for humanitarian and evangelistic reasons, whereas government settlements were part of the implementation of the assimilation policy of the 1940s. Missions, in general, were personalized institutions with a large degree of stability due to continuity of staff, whereas settlements tended to be much more impersonal with a high turnover of government staff. Not only were there differences between the two types of communities, but there were also differences between missions run by different church bodies.

In spite of differences in motivation, however, the end results of mission-originated and government-originated development were similar in many ways. Missions and settlements both resulted in the collecting together of Aboriginal people of diverse tribal and language backgrounds. These communities were operated on more institutionalized lines than cattle station communities, with a non-Aboriginal administrator functioning in many ways as an autocratic ruler, although in practice this varied according to the individual administrator. In some of these communities in the past, there were legal restrictions on the personal liberties of Aborigines, with, for example, limitations being placed on movement to and from the community, or on the right to own dogs or guns, or even to wail at funerals (Rowley 1972c:48-61).

Missions and settlements have provided schooling and health care and served as sources of labour for nearby cattle stations. They have been highly institutionalized and have resulted in extensive social restructuring. In most cases hostels or dormitories were operated for children in school, with the children sometimes being separated from their parents while attending the English-only school. Partly due to the multilingual mixture of the population of such communities and the effects of the dormitory system, creolization in missions and settlements has tended to occur relatively soon after the establishment of the communities.

Most missions and settlements have recently become independent Aboriginal communities which are run by all-Aboriginal councils, although most councils retain a non-Aboriginal advisor who sometimes in practice functions much like the old administrator. These communities are generally the larger of the Aboriginal communities, with populations of up to a thousand, and most continue to function as a resource centre for the smaller communities around them.

Outstation or Homeland Centres

The most recently established of the Aboriginal communities are the relatively small outstation or homeland centres which began developing during the 1970s.[31] These communities have grown out of the movement of Aborigines at mission and settlement communities back to their own country. The resident population of outstation communities, which nationally averages thirty (Coombs et al 1980:16), is usually of a single traditional language group and often consists of an extended family. These communities have a fairly traditional orientation.

The physical amenities of outstation communities are typically very limited. Most of them lack power, running water and adequate housing. In many cases there is no ready access to medical help or supplies. Some outstations in practice function only during the dry season, due in part to inaccessibility during the wet season. Relatively few outstations have a school, and of those which do, it is typically a one teacher school with the teaching being done by an Aboriginal resident of the outstation in a bough-shade 'classroom'.

One would expect traditional language to be strong in outstation communities because of their traditional orientation and single-traditional-language-group composition. Traditional language does, indeed, appear to be more viable in most of these communities than in the larger 'multilingual-mixture' communities. Nevertheless, Kriol still functions as a primary language in these communities, in part because a segment of the population typically speak Kriol as their mother tongue and have only a passive knowledge of the traditional language. More will be said about this situation in the next chapter.

Towns

There are some twenty towns in the Kriol language area. Most of the towns grew out of what might be called historical accidents rather than being initially planned as towns. Halls Creek and Pine Creek, for example, developed as gold rush centres, Adelaide River and Katherine grew out of telegraph stations, and Mataranka and Larrimah were progressively the end of the railway line and functioned as railway maintenance depots.

A few towns, however, were planned and gazetted as towns from their virtual beginning. Wyndham, for example, was planned because of its suitable location as a port for the east Kimberleys. Not all towns, however, flourished. Urapunga was gazetted in 1887 as a town but never occupied. Maranboy was a flourishing mining town in the early 1900s but has since dwindled to a lone police station.

The origin of the oldest town in the Kriol language area, Darwin, goes back to a settlement at Fort Dundas in 1824. This settlement was soon abandoned and two other unsuccessful attempts were made, at Raffles Bay in 1827 and Port Essington in 1838, before the settlement of Palmerston was successfully established at Port Darwin in 1868.[32]

The origins of most of the other towns go back to the late 1800s or early 1900s, although a few of the towns are of more recent origin. Kununurra, for example, was established in the early 1960s as the service centre for the construction of the Ord River dam project and Jabiru in the early 1970s as a uranium mining town.

Regardless of the causes of their establishment, towns were, and in the most part still are, essentially European communities, with the vast majority of the European resident population in the Kriol language area being concentrated in them. The running of the towns and the amenities they offer are essentially European. In addition, towns can be distinguished from the other types of communities in that towns are public places while the other communities have restricted access.

Most towns, although they developed as centres of European activity, have attracted a resident Aboriginal population. In a few towns (e.g. Halls Creek), the Aboriginal population now outnumbers the European population. In spite of this, however, the town continues to be run by and largely for Europeans.

The resident Aboriginal population of towns today is of three major types. Most Aborigines live in recognized Aboriginal communities within the town. In virtually all cases these communities were originally gazetted as Aboriginal reserves within or on the outskirts of the town, and Aborigines were required without choice to live in them. During the past two decades, however, the reserve system has changed. In most cases the non-Aboriginal-administered reserves have become semi-independent Aboriginal-run communities, the best known of which is probably Bagot in Darwin. These ex-reserves are now in essence socially, administratively and physically autonomous Aboriginal communities within the larger town community. In a few cases the reserves have been completely closed and the residents shifted to other locations.

The second type of resident Aboriginal population in towns is represented by people who live among the non-Aboriginal sector of the town community. They live scattered throughout the town in housing divisions alongside the non-Aboriginal population. In towns where reserves have been completely closed, the government policy has in general been to shift the Aboriginal residents of those reserves into such town housing. The attitude of these people towards Kriol will be discussed in a later section.

In very general terms, the residents of Aboriginal communities within the towns tend to be more traditionally oriented and less fluent in English than are the Aboriginal residents living throughout the town. In most cases the Aboriginal community residents make up the core of the Kriol speakers of the town. They also tend to be the main group that has a knowledge of traditional language. The Aboriginal residents living throughout the town in town housing, in contrast, are mostly of mixed descent and in general are not as likely to be Kriol speakers as are the Aboriginal community residents. It should be noted, however, that these are very broad generalizations.

The third type of resident Aboriginal population in some towns is that often referred to as fringe dwellers.[33] All towns have a number of camping sites which are used by Aborigines. Most of these sites are named and recognized as 'belonging' to specific groups of Aborigines. While most of these sites are used on an 'on-and-off' basis, others are permanently occupied. A fringe dweller is an Aboriginal who regards a named camping site as his home and is regarded by the others as a member of the group that 'owns' that site. Fringe dwellers do not normally have regular employment in town but, at least in Darwin, have established a local economy of their own by providing services to visiting Aborigines (Sansom 1980). The residents of fringe camps are typically 'polyglot', speaking AE, Kriol and in many cases several traditional languages. The language for public use in fringe camps is AE or Kriol, with the 'unauthorized' use of traditional language being regarded as severe transgression.

There is a fourth type of Aboriginal population in towns, but this is a transient population. The towns function as supply and service centres for other communities in the region. Towns are the only communities which offer a full range of amenities. As a result, residents of the outlying communities are constantly coming in and out of town. Many of these transients stay with relatives, either in Aboriginal communities within the town or in town housing, when they come to town. Some of them, however, especially those who come from 'dry' communities to the town to drink, tend to stay in fringe camps on the edge of town. Sansom (1980:9) makes a distinction between 'fringe clients' and 'fringe campers'. Fringe clients attach themselves to established fringe dwellers and are thus afforded protection and companionship, whereas fringe campers camp independently on unoccupied camping sites. The language of these transient people depends on their normal place of residence, which in most cases is one of the Kriol-speaking communities.

KRIOL, ABORIGINAL ENGLISH AND ENGLISH — ONE SYSTEM?

It is now possible to return to the mainstream of the argument as to whether or not Kriol, AE and English form a single unilinear continuum system. It was concluded in an earlier section that they could not be considered to form such a system if all varieties of English-related speech of Aborigines throughout Australia were to be included. The question remains, however, as to whether or not they form such a single system if consideration is restricted to the Aboriginal residents of the communities in the Kriol language area as described in the foregoing sections. In other words, within the Kriol language area, do all varieties of English-related Aboriginal speech form a single English system, or do they form several co-existent, albeit related, systems?

As was pointed out in chapter one, some writers (notably Bickerton) reject the concept of co-existent systems. They find it difficult, however, to completely get away from the idea of the continuum linking two systems, namely "the basilectal system" and "the system of standard English" (Bickerton 1975:59). The basilectal system of a creole continuum is the "original system" or the "creole language" which "probably" contained "considerable variation" itself. This original creole system in the case of Kriol is basically the so-called "hypothasised creole mesolect", to use Rumsey's (1983:177) terms, described by Sandefur (1979) and Hudson (1983a), or what Kriol speakers themselves often refer to as "proper" Kriol. Some of the variation within this original creole system will be discussed in the next two sections.

It is well known that the rate of decreolization may vary from speech community to speech community as well as within a single speech community from time to time depending on the social context (Bickerton 1975:131-132). In both the Black American and Guyanese communities, for example, creolization itself had taken place by the early 1700s. Decreolization began to take place by the mid-1700s in the Black American community, but not until the mid-1800s in the Guyanese community.

In the Kriol language area, although pidginization began to take place in most regions in the 1800s, creolization has only taken place during the 1900s. Kriol, therefore, is a relatively 'young' creole. In the Roper River region, creolization took place at the turn of the century; in most other regions within the Kriol language area, it has only taken place since World War Two. As mentioned earlier, many mother-tongue

Kriol speakers are fluent second-language English speakers. If their English fluency is the result of decreolization, then decreolization from the basilect to the acrolect has taken place in the Kriol language area within one generation. Such an interpretation of the situation is dependent, however, upon the acceptance of the second-language-learners' interlanguage continuum and the decreolization continuum as being one and the same.

As was discussed in chapter one, writers such as Schumann (1978b) and Anderson (1979) argue that the processes involved in decreolization and second language acquisition [SLA] are analogous. Bickerton (1975:176) likewise accepts the parallelism of the SLA continuum and the decreolization continuum, claiming that the points of difference between them "seem to stem from extra-linguistic rather than linguistic factors". On a purely linguistic basis, then, the SLA continuum and the decreolization continuum are purported to be identical. In such a case, decreolization becomes redundant.

If one insists on the synonymy of SLA and decreolization with speakers whose first-language is Kriol, one must also accept the same synonymy for speakers whose first-language is a traditional Aboriginal language. In such a case, the interlanguage described by Elwell (1979), which links Yolngu Matha with SAE, results in a Yolngu Matha system that is parallel to a creole system as proposed by Bickerton. If the basilect in such a creole system is, as Bickerton claims, "in some meaningful sense" English, then the basilect in the parallel Yolngu Matha system must also be some sort of English. To avoid such an unacceptable conclusion, extra-linguistic factors must be taken into account and the two processes considered analogous rather than synonymous.

I will seek to show in the following section that the variation linking Kriol and English is the result of an SLA process rather than a decreolization process. The end product of SLA is control of two languages by an individual. The end product of decreolization, by contrast, is always a social community-based process: the loss of one language coinciding with the ascendance of another language. My main argument rests on the fact that Kriol speakers who learn English show few signs of losing their own language.

Interlanguage Rather Than Decreolization

As was discussed in chapter one, Bickerton (1975) divides creole speakers in Guyana into single-range speakers and split-range speakers. Such a division is significant in the context of Kriol, particularly if Kriol is (in my view, inaccurately) considered to be the basilect of a continuum that consists of AE as the mesolect and SAE as the acrolect. Unlike Guyanese speakers, however, Kriol speakers of both groups shift between lects according to changing circumstances in the social situation, the most significant determinants being the ethnic identity and language background of the hearer.

The vast majority of split-range speakers are mother-tongue speakers of Kriol who also speak English or upper-mesolectal AE, which they learnt as a second-language, usually through schooling. These people still speak their mother-tongue, although many non-Kriol speakers are convinced otherwise. The most important speech-usage rule in operation among Kriol speakers, which will be discussed in the next chapter, is 'English with non-Aboriginal people, not Kriol'. As a result, Kriol is seldom used by split-range speakers in the presence of non-Aboriginal people. When it is used, however, non-Aboriginal people often think the Aboriginal person is speaking a traditional language because of the unintelligibility to non-Kriol speakers of fluently spoken Kriol.

Such split-level speakers, in a framework such as Bickerton (1975) proposes, would be genuine bi-dialectals, for they switch between the basilect and acrolect (or something approaching these extremes) without touching the mesolect. Note, however, that these Kriol speakers have 'passed through' the mesolectal phase by means of an SLA process rather than a decreolization process. If these two processes are distinct, and if the SLA process operates on speakers of one language while learning a second language, albeit a related language, then these speakers are bilingual rather than simply bi-dialectal. Socially this distinction is supported by a large number of split-range Kriol speakers who consider Kriol to be an Aboriginal language in contrast to the a European language, English.

With single-range speakers the situation is more complex. These speakers can be subdivided into two groups: mother-tongue Kriol speakers and second-language Kriol speakers. Most second-language Kriol speakers are older people who could technically be considered to speak a pidgin from which Kriol developed, since they were speaking it before creolization (primarily in terms of the acquisition of mother-tongue speakers) took place in their community.[34] Some of these people speak Kriol fluently and are indistinguishable from mother-tongue speakers, while others speak it very noticeably less fluently. Older people typically consider Kriol to be English.

Second-language Kriol speakers, however, are not restricted to older people. A number of mother-tongue speakers of traditional languages have learnt Kriol as a second language well after creolization took place. For those who do not speak Kriol fluently, the 'Kriol' they speak is, in fact, a traditional-language-to-Kriol interlanguage. Those who speak Kriol fluently, on the other hand, are genuinely bilingual, switching between their traditional language and Kriol. Second-language Kriol speakers may or may not speak AE or English as well.

The other subgroup of single-range Kriol speakers, those who speak Kriol as their mother-tongue, are for the most part younger than the mid-thirties. The output of these single-range speakers varies, but all of their ranges include the 'basilect' (i.e. Kriol). The degree to which their range extends along the 'mesolect' towards the 'acrolect' (i.e. SAE) depends primarily on the effectiveness of their schooling in English. Younger school children generally have not learnt the distinction between Kriol and English, neither socially nor linguistically. During the first few years of their schooling, their Kriol tends to show some genuine signs of decreolization. Around the third or fourth year, however, they generally appear to become aware of the distinction between Kriol and English and their Kriol 'reverts' to more 'proper' Kriol.

There are many older school children who have not yet reached the 'acrolect'. Some of them never will, for there are many school leavers who have 'fossilized' their English somewhere along the 'mesolect'. These speakers cannot make a clear linguistic split between their 'English' and Kriol outputs even though they generally clearly perceive themselves as switching codes between speaking to whites and speaking among themselves.

Note that with none of the above Kriol speakers has the end product of their 'moving up the continuum' resulted in the loss of their Kriol fluency. In this respect the continuum cannot be considered a 'post-creole' or decreolization continuum. Note also that, unlike the Guyanese continuum, the Kriol variety does not represent a 'survival' from a "relatively early stage in the development" of the speech of Aboriginal communities in the Kriol language area. The time scale of 'basilect-to-acrolect' movement is different for each individual speaker and is an SLA process. One cannot speak of a time scale of basilect-to-acrolect movement for the language itself as is the case in the Guyanese continuum.

Decreolization: Perimeter Communities and 'Townies'

Notwithstanding the foregoing, it would not be true to say that no decreolization has taken place or is taking place in regard to Kriol. There are two situations in particular in which decreolization may be in operation: in a few 'perimeter communities' near the boundary of the 'Kriol country', and among, as some Aborigines in the northeast Kimberleys refer to them, 'townie' Aborigines.

In several Aboriginal communities in the Kriol language currency area, particularly in Queensland and the far western Kimberleys, there tends to be an AE which contains many Kriol features but is not Kriol itself. At Doomadgee, for example, Kriol prepositions are used by much of the population about half the time, whereas English prepositions are used the rest of the time.[35] Is this evidence that Kriol has decreolized there? The situation has yet to be studied with any depth, but the historical evidence tends to indicate that Kriol never developed there.[36] Instead, it appears that a variety of AE developed from a pidgin (obviously related to those from which Kriol developed) without the intervening stages of creolization and decreolization.

It is more likely that decreolization is taking place among Aborigines, in particular Aborigines of mixed racial descent, who are living in towns (as opposed to Aboriginal communities) in houses interspersed among Europeans. These Aborigines do not, by any means, form an homogeneous group. It is, therefore, very difficult to make any generalizations about them.

Some of these Aborigines in some of the towns, at least until relatively recently, took offense at being called an Aboriginal. In general, such people were, and mostly still are, aspiring to gain acceptance from Europeans and move into the Anglo community socially. Many of them would have nothing (at least openly) to do with traditional Aboriginal society. In company with Europeans, they typically looked down upon 'full-bloods'. 'Pidgin English' (i.e. Kriol) was (and to many, still is) nothing but a deficient and "bastardized" form of English that should be eradicated.

As a result of such attitudes, combined with living in a largely European environment, in some towns Kriol is not used by many townie Aborigines. Many of them cannot speak, and never have spoken, Kriol. In some cases, neither their parents or grandparents on either side of the family have been Kriol speakers. On the other hand, in some towns, the majority of the townies can speak Kriol. For some, it is their mother-tongue. For most townies throughout the Kriol language area, however, a variety of AE appears to be the primary mode of communication, at least among themselves. If true decreolization of Kriol is taking place, it is most likely among these people.

It could be argued, of course, that Kriol is really part of a post-creole continuum even if only a relatively small number of townies have decreolized. The problem here is in determining how many speakers must begin to decreolize before the whole language is considered to have decreolized, a question impossible to answer with certainty. Admittedly, creolization is a process more available to observation than is decreolization. Even so, the number of speakers who are decreolizing is very small compared to the number for whom Kriol, in a sense, is 'creolizing'. In other words, the Kriol-speaking population overall is on the increase. This is primarily due to better health care — the Aboriginal birth rate is high, infant mortality is going down and Kriol speakers are living longer. In addition the number of communities affected by decreolization is relatively small. Out of more than two hundred and fifty Aboriginal communities in which Kriol is a significant language, only half a dozen or so appear to be affected, and only a relatively small portion of their population at that.

It should be noted that townies who speak a variety of AE are not necessarily involved in decreolization. Unlike the Guyanese situation where no speaker's range can touch both ends of the continuum (Bickerton 1975:188), the range of some of the townie speakers appears to extend across the entire continuum. It may be that their ranges are, in fact, discontinuous. Instead of controlling all variation along the continuum, they may be 'tri-lectal', speaking Kriol, a variety of 'mesolectal' AE, as well as fairly standard Australian English. One such speaker, for example, is eleven year old Tina from Halls Creek. She and her two younger sisters, while on a trip to the Northern Territory, made a recording to send to their friends back home. The recording, extracts of which are quoted below, was made in the home and presence of a non-Aboriginal person in an Aboriginal community.[37]

The first extract is typical of the common everyday speech observed to be used by Tina (and her sisters) on most occasions in her home situation. It represents the speech she normally uses with her peers and family in her own home, and contains the 'classic' features of AE as described by Kaldor and Malcolm (1982). In the first extract quoted below, Tina begins by telling her peers back home what she and her sisters (M. and D.) are doing at that moment. After the break in the text, she starts telling them about some disobedient teenage girls.

> M. is layin' down here. She just relaxing. Me and D. is sit'n down working hard talking... You know all 'a big big girls. Dey be stupid. Dey don listen to they mother and that...

In observations made of the speech of Tina (and her sisters), there appears to be two main features that trigger a switch to Kriol: a Kriol-speaker listener who cannot switch to AE, and a 'bush' setting or topic. In the extract quoted below, Tina has clearly switched to Kriol. She was telling her story to the same peers as in the first extract, but the topic had switched to a trip out bush. In the extract, the double hyphen [--] represents the lengthened vowel of the durative aspect.[38]

> Yu no mibala wi bin go--at langa bush la Benjobo en wibin gidim bi--gismob shugabeg. Ai no bin go. Mai greni bin go en imin bringimbek ful la biliken. Ai bin dagat langa i--m, idimbat, en ai bin idimbat...
>
> ('You know, we went out bush to Banjo Bore and we got a lot of wild honey. I didn't go. My grandmother went and she brought back a billycan full [of honey].[39] I ate it, eating, and I was eating...')[40]

The third extract, quoted below, represents Tina's switching to English. The initial trigger was an English storybook which she picked up to read. She followed this by starting to make up her own story. After an interruption she shifted the taperecorder in an attempt to get a candid recording of her aunty, who can only speak English.

> Oh, well, I'll read some of this... I'd like to tell you a story about C... She squealed a little bit, but you couldn't hear her... Well, I could just put this [recorder] over here at the door and listen. Aunty Glenys! [laugh] Ah, she didn't want to talk. She just laughed.

One other possible decreolization situation deserves to be mentioned. There are a number of cases of mother-tongue Kriol speakers having 'lost' their language by moving out of 'Kriol country', especially at a young age, and living in a southern European environment for a lengthy period of time. These people no longer have any active recollection of Kriol. They could be considered to have decreolized only if 'memory loss' is equated with decreolization (Samarin 1971:130). Several such speakers who have recently moved back into a Kriol-speaking Aboriginal community have been observed to go through the process of re-learning their mother-tongue as a second language.

Government Policy Strengthening Kriol

I have tried to show that Kriol on the whole does not appear to be decreolizing and disappearing through merger with English in any Aboriginal communities within the Kriol language area. To the contrary, in some communities its strength as a mother-tongue is increasing. At Numbulwar, for example, where it has been in existence as a second-language for the majority of the population for several decades, it is now gaining mother-tongue speakers at the expense of the traditional language, Nunggubuyu (Harris 1982:50). If decreolization were taking place, it would be expected that the children would be learning English (or at least a variety of speech closer to English than is Kriol) as their mother-tongue rather than Kriol. English is taught to all children in the school, but its effect on Kriol is minimal, resulting not in decreolization but in Kriol-English bilingualism.

One of the significant factors involved in the unintentional spread and strengthening of Kriol has been government policy. From the late 1930s until the early 1970s the Australian Government policy towards Aborigines was one of assimilation, part of the implementation of which was strong efforts at 'anglicizing' the speech of Aborigines. In many cases particular vehemence was directed towards eradicating the so-called deficient pidgin English (i.e. Kriol).

Such policies are now known to have had an effect opposite to that intended. One of the main effects appears to have been to greatly increase creolization, and therefore the spread of Kriol, at the expense of traditional languages. If the policies had been successful in achieving their aims of eliminating or at least significantly weakening the social divisions separating Aborigines and Europeans, widespread decreolization would indeed most likely have set in where creolization had already taken place.

A change in the early 1970s to a self-determination policy and the consequent rise in Aboriginal identity and pride in one's Aboriginal cultural heritage, along with the 'assurance' of separate communities for Aborigines who desire them, have strengthened the social divisions separating Kriol and English. The new government policies appear to be having a definite opposing effect upon decreolization tendencies. Although only time will tell, it is likely that the tremendous social changes during the last decade, if they continue developing in the direction they are heading, will lend little encouragement to decreolization. I will discuss the effect of government policies upon Kriol in greater detail in chapter four.

VARIATION WITHIN KRIOL

It was noted in an earlier section that 'considerable variation' exists within Kriol itself. This variation often appears to Europeans to be very ad hoc. Sharpe (1975:3) comments, for example, that a nursing sister at Ngukurr gave up trying to learn Kriol because it seemed so "very variable, both with different speakers and with the same speaker on different occasions". There is much variation in Kriol, but virtually all of it is systematic and explicable variation.

It would appear best to consider Kriol to be a dynamic continuum system, for Kriol does not consist of "a fixed number of parts which hold invariant relations with one another" (Bickerton 1975:166). Note, however, that I am not referring to Kriol as a post-creole or SLA continuum system. Kriol is a continuum in the sense that there are a number of subsystems within it which are linked together by gradation rather than being discrete; it is dynamic in that it is not a static, invariable language; it is a system in that it does not consist of a random mixing of elements. With this understanding of the continuum nature of Kriol, I will now discuss some of the variation which occurs within the language itself.

There are two basic types of continua which form the Kriol system. These two types could be referred to as dialectal and sociolectal continua. Dialectal continua are those which have essentially arisen through separation caused by physical conditions (Cripper and Widdowson 1975:167). Sociolectal continua, which are the more fundamental of the two types, have been determined by social conditions rather than geographical ones. In this and the following section, I will discuss various aspects of these two types of continua.

A Folk-Linguistic Perspective

Some linguists maintain a distinction in North Australia between (adult) pidgin and (youth) creole, in most cases primarily on the basis of second or first language learnt. Jernudd (1971:20) provides us with what is perhaps the most perceptive analysis of the distinction:

> The youth Creole is linguistically different from Pidgin. Creole is typologically closer to English than Pidgin since it has a similar phonology (although particularly the intonational characteristics are closer to Pidgin) and a more English vocabulary. Its syntax is basically a Pidgin syntax. Pidgin has preserved an Aboriginal-type phonology... [school children] use Pidgin to adults, Creole among themselves. Their Pidgin is in effect a modified Creole.

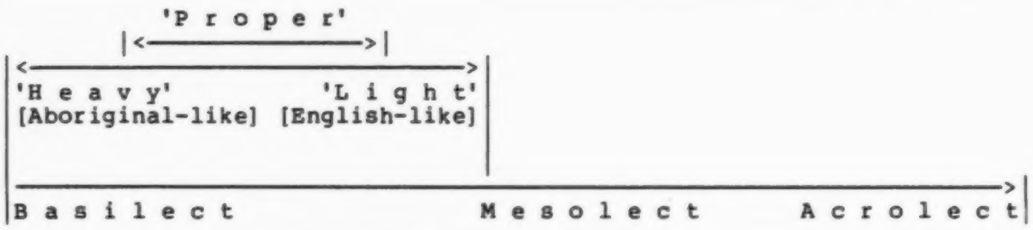
The Kriol speaker's own view of the situation, however, tends to be quite different from that of most linguists. In the perception of most

Kriol speakers themselves, and the way I use the term throughout this book, the name of the language is not synonymous with its English etymon. 'Kriol' is not simply 'creole' in a different orthographic system. Rather, the referent includes both '(youth) creole' and '(adult) pidgin'. As far as Kriol speakers themselves are concerned, there is only one language, one basic continuum, and all speech is adjudged in reference to it. In their view, pidgin and creole are not discrete varieties, the one spoken as a second language in contrast to the other which is spoken as a first language. Instead, they are overlapping and interacting sections of the continuum of one language.[41]

According to the Kriol speakers' folk-linguistic system,[42] Kriol speech and features in Kriol speech can be either 'heavy' [hebi] or 'light' [lait] or, with a lot of overlap, 'proper' [prapa]. Their use of these terms is somewhat analogous to the general use of basilect, mesolect and acrolect. Heavy features are typically 'closer' in some respect to traditional Aboriginal languages in contrast to light features, which are typically closer to English.

There are, however, two basic differences that distinguish their use of terms from the technical terminology. Firstly, 'light' does not equate with English; it equates with 'English-like', which is often very far removed from Standard Australian English. Even when it is (almost) identical with English, light Kriol is still Kriol, not English, at least as far as most mother-tongue Kriol speakers are concerned. Secondly, while 'proper' basically equates with mesolect, the distance spanned by the typical mesolect is greater than that spanned by 'proper', for the mesolect normally represents a link between sections of the continuum. In the Kriol folk-linguistic system, 'heavy' and 'light' are almost contiguous first-level ranges, with 'proper' being an overlapping, rather than linking, second-level range. 'Proper' selects features within both first-level ranges instead of being a middle range separating the heavy and light ranges. The relationship of the Kriol system relative to a post-creole continuum is illustrated in the diagram below.

THE KRIOL SYSTEM RELATIVE TO A POST-CREOLE CONTINUUM



The clearest example and most common operation of this folk-linguistic system is in regards to the phonological continuum (Sandefur 1979:27-52). It is also this continuum that causes Europeans the most consternation when having to deal closely with Kriol, especially in the context of literacy. The extreme heavy phonological subsystem is virtually identical with that of traditional Aboriginal languages. Typically this means, for example, no affricates, no fricatives, no contrastive voicing with stops, no consonant clusters within a syllable, but five points of articulation for stops and nasals. The extreme light subsystem, in contrast, includes virtually all the contrasts which occur in English. Note, however, that unlike the heavy subsystem which 'eliminates' all of the non-Aboriginal contrasts of English, the light subsystem does not eliminate the non-English contrasts of the traditional language.

Words composed of sounds which are common to both subsystems remain constant throughout the continuum (e.g. *mani* 'money' is *mani* regardless of position on the continuum; it's neither heavy nor light, simply 'proper'). Some sounds move from heavy to light in one step (e.g. heavy *brog* 'frog' moves directly to light *frog*). Opinion is divided among Kriol speakers as to which is 'proper' Kriol. In the Ngukurr dialect, which is the oldest and most 'conservative', *brog* is generally considered 'proper'. A number of sounds, however, take several steps to move from heavy to light (e.g. heavy *ding* 'thing' becomes *ting* before becoming light *thing*; or heavy *mawuj* 'mouth' becomes *mawus* before becoming light *mauth*). The middle form, in both cases, is generally considered 'proper' Kriol.

The last example hints at a complication to be expected, i.e. in most cases sound changes do not operate individually. Rather, several sound changes typically operate implicationally within a given word as one moves along the continuum, resulting in the majority of Kriol words having several alternate pronunciations (e.g. *jineg*, *jinek*, *sinek*, *sineik*, *sneik* 'snake'; *buludang*, *bludang*, *blutang* 'blue-tongue lizard'. Typically, one of the middle forms is considered to be 'proper' Kriol, with the others being heavy or light respectively.

Except for the extreme heavy and light variations of some words, most Kriol speakers control virtually all pronunciations in their active everyday speech. No Kriol speaker speaks with a consistently light pronunciation. There are, however, some Kriol speakers who tend to have consistently heavy pronunciation in Kriol. These are mostly mother tongue speakers of a traditional language who speak Kriol as a second language and who speak no (Aboriginal) English.

With few exceptions, every stream of Kriol speech will contain some words with heavy pronunciations and some with light pronunciations. Within the same conversation and even within the same sentence, it is not uncommon for Kriol speakers to use more than one of the pronunciation alternatives. Note, for example, Agnes:

> *Orait, wi bin silip. Ailibala jei andi gu na, weya taid bin gaman. Dei andi go floting na. Ola bin blotblo--t raidap langa lil ailen. Jeya na. Dei bin flot mowa. Ani naidam imin gaman det bout, det jepani bout. O, bigwan. Imin kam garra - garra bigmob jepani, mijamet biginini la jet bout. Dei bin baindim na. Det jirribala bin baindim jet bout. "Hei! Big bout jeya. Melabat go luk." Dei bin - Aisik bin laijat, la im barnga dubala. "Wi go luk. Gaman." Dei bin gu na. Dei bin gu--flotflo--t. Jeya gulijap na jei bin go...*
>
> ('Alright, we slept. In the morning they were going to go, when the tide came in. They were going to go canoeing then. They paddled right to the little island. They reached it. They canoed more. But it was at night that the boat came, that Japanese boat. Oh, it was big. It came with - with lots of Japanese, just like [a swarm of] children on the boat. Then they discovered it. Those three men discovered that boat.

"Hey! There's a big boat there. Let's go and look." They - Isaac said to his two cousins, "Let's go and look. Come on." Then they went. They paddled. Right up close to it they went...')

Many of the words[43] are invariant (e.g. 'past tense' bin, 'to' langa, 'many' bigmob). With some words, however, Agnes was consistently heavy in pronunciation ('three' jirribala, 'near' gulijap, 'find' baindim, 'there' jeya). With other words she alternated between heavy and light pronunciations ('paddle a canoe' blot and flot, 'go' gu and go, 'they' dei and jei, 'that' jet and det). Note also that she not only alternated between heavy and light pronunciation, but between heavy and light forms of some pronouns ('they' ola and dei, 'we' melabat and wi). In addition, she alternated between heavy and light grammatical forms ('canoeing' flotflot and floting). These last two examples, of course, indicate that the heavy-light continuum is not restricted to phonology, but is also applicable to syntax, lexicon and semantics, although it is not applied as thoroughly by Kriol speakers to these areas.

Development and Modernization Variation

The applicability of the folk-linguistic system to the grammar and lexicon of Kriol is primarily related to what Mühlhäusler (1980:22) refers to as developmental continua. These continua are the results of processes of development and expansion through which the overall referential and non-referential power of a language increases. The heavy features of Kriol developmental continua are generally those which have historically developed earlier and which result, as mentioned above, in some linguists wanting to make a distinction between adult pidgin and youth creole. As with so many aspects of Kriol, no thorough study has yet been made of these developmental continua, and they will only be briefly mentioned here.

Developmental continua, according to Mühlhäusler (1980), are characterized in part by such changes as the gradual introduction of redundancy, the development of a word-formation component, an increase in derivational depth, the development of grammatical devices for non-referential purposes, and the gradual increase in morphological naturalness.

As Kriol has spontaneously developed, for example, the means of expressing plurality have increased, thus introducing some redundancy. At the turn of the century[44] in the Roper River area, plurality could be expressed by the use of a pre-positioned quantifier such as bigmob or by the use of the post-positioned 'pronoun' olabat ('third person plural'): Mi bin luk bigmob buligi. or Mi bin luk buligi olabat. 'I saw lots of cattle.' The use of the post-positioned pronoun is beginning to fall into disuse, with most Kriol speakers rejecting it in written literature even though many still use it orally. The same 'pronoun', however, is commonly used in a pre-position, often with a shortened form: Jeya olabat munanga. or Jeya ola munanga. 'There are the Europeans.' Reduplication is also used in some cases to indicate plurality. In particular, several human nouns have developed reduplicated or partially reduplicated forms which may be used with or without a quantifier: Jeya munamunanga. or Jeya ola munamunanga. 'There are the Europeans.'

Another example of the development of Kriol is in the expansion of its word-formation component.[45] Again, at the turn of the century in the Roper River area, intensification could be indicated in two ways, either by reduplication or by the use of a pre-positioned qualifier: *Imin bigwanbigwan.* or *Imin brabli bigwan.* 'It was very big.' Today, in addition to these two means, intensification can be indicated by the addition of two suffixes: *Imin bigbalawan.* or *Imin bigiswan.* 'It was very big.' Neither of these two forms, however, has yet acquired acceptance by the whole community as being 'proper' Kriol.

Kriol has also spontaneously developed a number of grammatical devices for non-referential purposes. For example, emphasis or focus can be indicated by use of the particle *na*, by front shifting, by tagging, or by the use of appositional phrasing (Sandefur 1979:92, Hudson 1983a:45-48). The introduction and spread of such devices is not instantaneous and uniform throughout any given community, much less the entire Kriol language area. As a result, the development of such changes through time and space takes on the form of a continuum.

There are, in addition to such developmental continua, and in a sense operating in opposition to them, what Mühlhäusler (1980) refers to as restructuring continua. These are continua which result from "changes due to contact with other languages which do not affect the overall power of a linguistic system" (Mühlhäusler 1980:22). Such continua are characterized in part by language mixing that leads to unnatural developments, hypercorrection, and an increase in variation resulting in a weakening of linguistic norms.

Most of the variation in Kriol appears to be developmental in nature rather than restructuring. As this book seeks to document, the spontaneous changes which have taken and are currently taking place are mostly resulting in a strengthening of linguistic norms. There is, however, some restructuring taking place. For example, particularly in the Kimberleys, the future/potential tense-mood auxiliary free form *garra* is being replaced in some contexts by the more English-like bound form -*l*, as in *ail* 'I'll' instead of *ai garra*.

In chapter four I will seek to show how social changes and government policy during the last few decades have added an acceleration factor to the development of Kriol. Although most of this accelerated development of Kriol was not planned, the changes are resulting in the modernization of Kriol. Modernization is "the development of intertranslatability with other languages in a range of topics and forms of discourse characteristic of industrialized, secularized, structurally differentiated, 'modern' societies" (Ferguson 1968:28). There are three main aspects of modernization: (a) the expansion of the lexicon, (b) the development of new styles and forms of discourse, and (c) the assignation of new functions or 'role definition' to the language (Ferguson 1968:32, Kaldor 1977:242).

Most of the planned modernization of Kriol has revolved around the Barunga [formerly Bamyili] school Kriol bilingual program, the SIL Kriol Bible translation project, and to a lesser degree some of the courses taught by the School of Australian Linguistics.

Planned modernization at the Barunga school has involved primarily the redefining of the role of Kriol in regards to education in the community and the developing of literary[46] styles of Kriol by Aboriginal literacy workers. Some lexical expansion relevant to the school program has also taken place, primarily as a by-product of turning over classroom teaching responsibilities to Kriol speakers. As Aborigines have moved into the classrooms and become involved in program planning, they have begun to develop in Kriol, in Hallidayian terms, a school register. Other aspects of the Barunga program will be discussed further in chapter five.

The work of SIL in the modernization of Kriol has focussed primarily on raising the social standing of the language through the dissemination of information about the language situation and on encouraging the development of the literary mode of the language. With regard to the latter, SIL has especially pushed for the standardization of written conventions across the various dialects.[47] In the translation project SIL has sought, not to overtly introduce expansions to the lexicon, but rather to utilize the existing terminology that has been spontaneously developed over the years by Kriol-speaking Aboriginal Christians and pastors.

The School of Australian Linguistics, primarily as a by-product of its courses, has helped raise the status of Kriol. The school has also undertaken what is probably the most formal attempt at lexical expansion to date. Working with Kriol-speaking linguistic students in 1979, they developed some Kriol linguistic terminology.[48]

The work of these three institutions in the modernization of Kriol was obviously not aimed at increasing variation in Kriol. The limited amount of variation that did arise out of their work was unintentional and restricted to the orthography and spelling of Kriol as individual workers sometimes found their own solutions to spelling problems. As appendix three indicates, however, even in matters of orthography and spelling, the above institutions have cooperated in trying to establish a set of standardized conventions and thus limit variation in the written language.

Most of the modernization of Kriol which has been taking place has been spontaneous rather than planned. Many Kriol speakers themselves, without the aid or encouragement of outsiders (i.e. linguists and non-Aboriginal teachers) have been attempting to extend the role and expand the lexicon of Kriol to enable them to discuss aspects of modern topics with others in their community (Sandefur 1982c). It is well known that a speaker of a 'non-modern' language[49] who receives his education in a 'modern' language is often unable to think or talk about modern topics in his own language because his own language lacks, not simply the substantive words, but the concepts and notions of processes as well. Through his education in a 'modern' language, he has learnt to express "ideas and sensibilities perhaps never before expressed" in his own language (Passin 1968:448). The response of many Kriol speakers in this situation has increasingly been to try and develop means of expression for those new concepts in Kriol. This has come about primarily as a direct result of the Aboriginalization of Aboriginal communities, which will be discussed in detail in chapter four.

The spontaneous modernization of Kriol is the cause of much of the large range of 'mixed' variation that exists in Kriol today. This range of variation, in a sense, is the consequence of a 'deanglicization' process that is involved in spontaneous modernization. As bilingual Kriol speakers learn new concepts in English, they attempt to communicate many of the concepts in Kriol because of the social situation and their relevance to the 'non-bilingual' Kriol speakers in their communities. The move from English to Kriol in discussing new concepts is not made through a clean switch from the one language to the other, but rather through a process more akin to code-mixing. There are definite indications, however, that over a period of time the speech of the 'educated elite' on a particular topic moves from being heavily laden with anglicized forms to being more fully 'proper' Kriol.

As with planned modernization, the lexical expansion of spontaneous modernization is not having a uniform effect over the whole of the Kriol language area. The main barrier tends to be state boundaries. The Kriol-speaking 'educated elite' from various communities in the Northern Territory have a fairly high contact rate among themselves, at least within their own academic circles (e.g. education, health, church and government). There are fewer Kriol speakers in the 'educated elite' circle in Western Australia than in the Northern Territory and virtually none in Queensland. Because of the government and educational systems of the various states, the 'educated elite' from the Northern Territory and Western Australia have very little contact with each other. As a result, new concepts in Kriol are not being diffused as rapidly across state boundaries as they are within the states.

The role definition aspect of modernization will be discussed in detail in chapter five in the context of government policies and educational planning.

Dialectal Continua Variation

By comparison with the sociolectal continua, the variation involved in the dialectal continua of Kriol are not nearly as complex. The traditional concept of discrete dialects has been questioned in recent years by many linguists studying variation in language, but as Labov (1980:382) points out, "the assumption of a continuum without breaks or relative discontinuities is as unjustified as the assumption of discrete boundaries".

Relatively little work has so far been carried out specifically on dialect documentation. One fact, however, appears to be certain: there are no discrete boundaries between the dialects of Kriol. The bundling of isoglosses, combined with differences in the distribution and frequency of grammatical rules and forms (Loflin and Guyette 1976:52) as well as social attitudes, provide an indication of dialect centres. Such features yield little information about dialect 'boundaries', which tend to be continua linking major population/service centres.

One of the most significant factors contributing to dialect differences in Kriol is the traditional Aboriginal language environment. As noted earlier, Kriol is spoken in over two hundred and fifty Aboriginal communities. There are over a hundred traditional languages and dialects which have an influence on Kriol and Kriol speakers. Although all of those traditional languages have many features in common, each is distinct.

The influence of individual traditional languages on Kriol is most readily observable in the Kriol lexicon. Many words have been borrowed from local traditional languages, but most of them are only used in the Kriol of that local area. For example, manuga 'money' [from 'stone'] was borrowed from one of the languages around Ngukurr. It is commonly used at Ngukurr, and known by Kriol speakers in the communities immediately surrounding Ngukurr, but it is virtually unknown by Kriol speakers elsewhere. Some borrowed words, however, have become regionalized. Gajinga 'damn it' [originally a reference to the genitals] is also from a local Ngukurr traditional language, but it is now used by Kriol speakers throughout the Roper River and Barunga areas. It is used in the Ngukurr area as a swear word, following its original usage, while in the Barunga area it carries very little negative connotation. Marluga 'old man', on the other hand, which was also borrowed from a traditional language, is known throughout almost the entire Kriol language area.

A more subtle influence which traditional languages exert on Kriol is in phonology. Kriol does not have only one extreme heavy subsystem. Where traditional languages differ, the phonological subsystems differ. In the Ngukurr area, three-vowel systems were prominent, so *go* was originally pronounced *gu*; in the Barunga area, five-vowel systems predominated, so *go* was *go*. The influence of these extreme heavy subsystems, however, is not simply a feature of the past nor limited to older, 'heavy' speakers. They continue to exert several types of influence upon virtually all Kriol speakers in their respective areas. In the case of the Ngukurr three-vowel system, all Ngukurr Kriol speakers today say *go* some of the time, but most of them also say *gu* and consider *gu* to be 'proper'. It is, in fact, one of the features usually cited by Ngukurr speakers, as well as Barunga speakers, to exemplify the distinctiveness of Ngukurr speech.

The operation of the phonological continuum discussed earlier is dependent, to a degree, on two 'external' factors: the influence of traditional-language phonological systems in determining heavy Kriol, and the form of the English etymon to which light Kriol is targeted. The route that a given word takes as it becomes lighter depends on the latter, and its starting point on the former. For example, the 'devoiced' stops in most traditional languages are predominantly realized by their voiced allophones. In heavy Kriol, therefore, 'talk' is *dog*; in light Kriol it becomes *tok*. 'Dog', on the other hand, is *dog* in both heavy and light Kriol. In those cases, however, in which the devoiced stops are predominantly realized without voicing, 'dog' is *tok* in heavy Kriol and becomes *dog* in light Kriol, whereas 'talk' is *tok* in both.

It should be pointed out that the influence of traditional-language phonology no longer necessarily reflects geographical distribution. For example, most Kriol speakers in Halls Creek are either Gija people or Jaru people. The Gija language has lamino-palatals, whereas the Jaru language does not. Because of the influence of the two languages, it is possible to distinguish Kriol speakers from the two groups by the presence or absence of lamino-palatals in their Kriol speech.[50]

VARIETIES OF KRIOL

The dialects of Kriol can be divided basically into regional dialects and local dialects. Regional dialects are spoken by residents of a number of communities over fairly large geographical areas. Most of these communities are relatively small cattle station or outstation communities which cluster around a larger settlement or town community that functions as a service/supply centre for the communities. Until the relatively recent increase in mobility and travel, the networks of communication were for the most part limited to the major centres and their satellite communities. The regional dialects of Kriol have thus been distinguished in terms of the major centres of the geographical regions, with the boundaries having received little research attention. These dialects have arisen in part because the historical development of each major centre and the emergence of Kriol in it has taken place relatively independently of other centres (Hudson 1983a:15).

In studies carried out to date, three dialects have received virtually all the attention: Roper River (Sharpe and Sandefur), Barunga (Steffensen and Sandefur) and Fitzroy Valley (Fraser and Hudson). Other communities which appear to be centres for regional dialects are Halls Creek[51], Daly River and Belyuen. In addition, it appears that the Turkey

Creek-Wyndham-Kununurra 'triangle', the Barkly Tableland area, and possibly the Victoria River district, represent regional dialects. The dialects in the Kimberleys are sometimes collectively referred to in this book as the western dialects, and the dialects east of the Stuart Highway as the eastern dialects. These dialects are distinguished primarily on the basis of differences in phonology, lexicon, grammar and social attitudes.[52]

In addition to the regional dialects, there are also local dialects. These have received very little specific attention. It has been noted, however, that the Kriol of the cattle station communities in the Roper River area tends to be more conservative than that at Ngukurr.[53] For example, cattle station residents more frequently use some of the words which have become archaic and seldom used at Ngukurr, such as minolabat 'we-inclusive' and melelabat 'we-exclusive' as compared with the more 'modern' melabat 'we'. The residents of many of these smaller satellite communities have not had the degree of exposure to the non-Aboriginal 'world' as have the major communities through education and media exposure. This restriction to broader exposure may in part be the cause of their more conservative speech.

Communities whose residents are largely descendants of one traditional language group tend to incorporate more localized traditional language words into their Kriol. The inclusion of such words is a major marker of local dialects. Most such words are usually understood but rarely used by speakers of dialects other than the 'donor' dialect.

Social Attitudes to Dialects

Social attitudes to the various dialects vary. There have not been any comprehensive studies on such attitudes and therefore only brief mention of this topic will be made here. Jernudd (1971:20) notes that the 'pidgin' spoken at Bagot community in Darwin was often referred to as "Roper pidgin (from Roper River)". Roper River is often attributed with being the source of Kriol spoken in other areas of the Northern Territory, and as discussed elsewhere, creolization does appear to have first taken place there (i.e. at Ngukurr). If a person wants to study 'proper' Kriol, he is often directed by Kriol speakers in the Northern Territory to Roper River. In some Kriol-speaking communities, the residents do not claim Kriol as their language but say they are speaking the language from Roper River.

The Ngukurr (Roper River) and Barunga communities are at times in social competition with each other. Ngukurr has tended to have the higher prestige among Aborigines, with Barunga struggling to gain Ngukurr's position. In talking about each others' dialects, Ngukurr speakers typically make a plain statement that "Barunga speaks different". When asked for specific examples of the differences, virtually all replies are limited to a few pronouns which are different and a few words which are pronounced differently:

> We say melabat ['we'] and Barunga says mibala,
> we say yumob ['you'] and Barunga says yubala,
> we say alabat ['they'] and Barunga says olabat,
> we say gu ['go'] and Barunga says go,
> we say numu ['no'] and Barunga says nomo.

It is interesting to note that Ngukurr speakers often use the forms go and nomo in place of the older forms gu and numu, but they seldom admit to doing so. Very few other specific examples are ever given. However, because Barunga has traditional connections with the Maiali people of the Oenpelli area, the Barunga dialect is sometimes described as being half Kriol and half Maiali.

Barunga speakers, on the other hand, when asked about the Roper dialect, typically make the same reply as the Ngukurr speakers do except that they laugh after every example they give: "We say mibala and Roper says melabat. Ha! Ha! Ha!".

Speakers of local dialects in the Roper River area who maintain the use of some of the more archaic forms are looked down upon by some speakers from Ngukurr. They are sometimes described as maiyal ('uneducated, backward'). This term is applied not only to language, but more generally to behaviour as a whole.

In the Kimberleys, Halls Creek has the reputation of being the centre for Kriol. Like Ngukurr in the Northern Territory, Halls Creek is the community in which creolization appears to have first begun in Western Australia. Being a town rather than a settlement, however, there is a large segment of the total population which does not speak Kriol and the demand for English is very high. Some Kriol speakers, therefore, say that the real centre for Kriol is not Halls Creek, but rather Louisa Downs to the west of Halls Creek.

Sociolects

In addition to dialects, there are also a number of sociolects of Kriol. Some sociolects involve deliberate modifications by the speaker according to the social context. Such factors as the relation between participants, the roles the participants perform, the subject matter of the communication, and the purpose of the communication are related to sociolect variation.

The sociolects of Kriol which adults most often comment on are those used by young people. Adults tend to deprecate these sociolects. Young people in the larger Aboriginal communities tend to be very 'flash' or bodji in their styles, showing much interest in the trendy European youth lifestyle. The effects of this show up clearly, for example, in their dress style (more so with young males than females) and in changing habits of dating. It also significantly affects their speech. Young people tend, for example, to develop idiomatic expressions which are unknown to the adults. As a result, they can speak with each other around adults and yet shield their conversation from them. This variety of speech is described by some adults as strit tok ('street talk') and is generally considered by them to be a perversion of good Kriol.

Many young Kriol speakers leave home for two or three years to attend high school. They are usually selected from among the students who have performed well in their primary education in their home communities. While away from home receiving further education, they often develop a fairly European/English lifestyle. In addition to students who leave home for study, some adults also move into a European environment for a variety of reasons for a period of time. Upon returning to their home community, many of these people often try to maintain their newly acquired European lifestyle. This, however, is usually socially unacceptable in their home community. A person who attempts to live such a lifestyle is often ridiculed for trying to be a munanga ('European') and is reminded that he is a blekbala ('Aboriginal') and should sidan ('live') like a blekbala. A person who persists in living like a munanga may even be ostracized by his relations.

The attitude of trying to construct and maintain a European personal and social identity manifests itself in language. In some cases Kriol speakers take on the negative attitudes which are typically held by Europeans. Some refuse to speak "that rubbish" and insist on using English. Others speak a heavily anglicized Kriol. The speech of either of the above types of speakers is generally frowned upon by other Kriol speakers in the community, sometimes being referred to as hai ('high') or flesh ('flash'). People who insist on using this 'flash' variety of speech are usually ridiculed for doing so. In discussing such ridicule at Mowanjum, for example, one Kriol speaker pointed out that "some people always say, 'Who do you think you are? You want to be a whiteman or what?' or 'What do you want to be, a high rank or a top brow?'..." (Sandefur and Sandefur 1979a:113).

The Kriol speech of Aboriginal people in Broome and Kalumburu has yet to be specifically studied. Their speech may in fact not be Kriol as such but a variety of Aboriginal English closely related to Kriol. Many Kriol speakers in the Kimberleys consider the speech of these two communities to be Kriol, but Kriol with a different accent. Kalumburu is a very isolated community that developed as a Spanish Benedictine mission, and people from Kalumburu are sometimes characterized as speaking Kriol with a Spanish accent. Broome, on the other hand, is unique because of the mixed ethnic character of the town. Brumby (1975:[26]) notes that "the 'Broome children' - those of mixed racial descent - are a linguistically unique group". It would appear that the Broome residents of mixed descent speak their own sociolect variety of English rather than Kriol with an accent.

One other variety of Kriol should be mentioned here: the munanga Kriol. There are, in fact, two main types of munanga Kriol. In their survey of the Kimberleys, Sandefur and Sandefur (1980:33) noted that

> while there are some whites who speak fluent creole [Kriol], mainly by virtue of having grown up in a creole-speaking environment, most whites who claim to speak creole fall into one of two groups. The first group is those who have made a real attempt at learning to speak creole as a second language but have not yet reached fluency. In the technical sense, they speak broken creole[54] [or English-to-Kriol interlanguage]. Those in the second group, while thinking that they speak creole, in fact speak some sort of 'simplified' English.

Brennan (1979:32) refers to this latter type of speech as a kind of "baby-English" or "mock Kriol" that insults Aborigines. This type of speech is not a simplified yet grammatically correct and well-phrased type of English. Rather, it is a stilted, reduced form of English speech that has little in common with Kriol. It can be considered Kriol only in the sense that the intention of the speaker is to imitate the Kriol speech of the Aborigines as he perceives it.

KRIOL AND TRADITIONAL ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES

Much has been said in the preceding sections about the relationship of Kriol to other varieties of English-related speech in Aboriginal communities. To fully appreciate the strength and significance of Kriol, however, one needs to understand something of its relationship to traditional Aboriginal languages as well.

Three categories of speech are generally recognized by most Kriol speakers: *pijin*, *inglish* and *langgus*. The label *langgus* is generally used by Kriol speakers to refer to traditional Aboriginal languages in contrast to *inglish* and *pijin*. There is, however, an increasing number of Kriol speakers who include Kriol in the category of *langgus* instead of *pijin*.

Langgus is a generic term, with each specific traditional Aboriginal language having its own name. When the European settlement of Australia began, there were an estimated 260 distinct Aboriginal languages with numerous dialects spoken on the continent by some 500 to 700 'tribes' ranging in size from 100 to 1500 persons (Powell 1982:15). Many of these languages and dialects have become extinct, some because the tribes which spoke them became extinct. Traditional Aboriginal language 'genocide' is virtually complete in Tasmania, the southwest of Western Australia, and in the area bounded by Adelaide, Townsville, Brisbane, Sydney and Melbourne (Grassby 1977:1). Other traditional languages are becoming extinct due largely to the effects of linguistically heterogeneous settlement life. Although about 150 languages are still known, only about fifty are described by linguists as being "healthy" and in no immediate danger of extinction (Brandl and Walsh 1982:72).

Some traditional languages in the Kriol language area are still in very active use.[55] Most of them, however, are on the decline or have become extinct or virtually extinct.[56] Descriptions of many of the traditional languages in the Kriol area are readily available.[57]

The vast majority of the traditional languages in the Kriol language area which are still spoken, are spoken fluently only by older people. In many communities throughout the Kriol currency area, relatively few Aborigines younger than thirty can fluently speak a traditional language (Chadwick 1975:ix, 1979:65, Crowley and Rigsby 1979:162, Glasgow 1984, McKay 1975:1, Morphy and Morphy 1981:22, Muecke 1978, Richards 1982a:43, Tsunoda 1981:17).[58] Many if not most of these younger people do, however, have a passive knowledge of 'their' traditional language. There are indications,[59] at least in the Fitzroy Valley, Victoria River and Barunga areas, that some young adults develop a speaking competence after leaving school and moving into the adult world.

It appears that in some communities it is generally socially unacceptable for children to speak a traditional language, although adults expect them to have a passive knowledge of it.[60] Children may speak traditional language in school while role-playing, but in general they will not speak it outside such a context. Children at Noonkanbah, for example, will speak Walmajarri at school but not outside the school except for teacher games where the Walmajarri teacher is mimicked (Richards 1982a:46). There is a parallel to this in regard to the use of English between children. They will often freely use English with each other, instead of Kriol, while role-playing, but generally not at other times.

In many cases parents or grandparents will not speak the traditional language with the children. Adults at Rockhampton Downs, for example, say they do not use traditional language with children until they get "a bit grown up" (Glasgow 1984:129). This is often the case even with adults who lament the fact that their children or grandchildren do not speak their traditional language. Hudson and McConvell (1984:36) note that "it is not easy to find out why people do this." Questioning adults as to why they do not speak the language to the children when they claim they want the children to learn the language brings a variety of responses, typically: "It doesn't sound right to use it with them." "They don't understand it." "It's the school's job to teach it to them." or "They've got to learn English first."

Baby-Talk and Child Language

In many languages a special speech style is employed in talking to infants and young children (Ervin-Tripp 1973:328, McConvell 1982:65). Kriol is seen by some people as being a kind of child language or baby-talk (McConvell 1980, Hudson and McConvell 1984). It is argued that because adults speak Kriol to their children instead of a baby version of their traditional language, Kriol is therefore baby-talk or a children's variety of language.

When the first generation of mother tongue Kriol speakers emerged, Kriol could conceivably have been considered to function as a child language since only the children would have used it for all aspects of communication while their parents would have primarily used their traditional language among themselves. As the first generation grew into adults, however, they did not 'grow out of' their so-called child language. When they themselves become parents they continued to use Kriol among themselves just as their own parents had continued to use their traditional language among themselves. With each succeeding generation the age-limit for the use of Kriol as a so-called baby-talk version of traditional language was raised. The ultimate conclusion of such a baby-talk view would therefore be that pensioner-aged mother-tongue speakers of Kriol have never linguistically matured beyond speaking a baby language. Such a conclusion is patently false. Adult mother tongue speakers of Kriol speak an adult language. Not only so, but there exists an actual 'baby-talk style' of Kriol used with infants and younger children.

The baby-talk style or register of Kriol has yet to be specifically studied, so only a brief comment will be made about it here. The most readily noticeable feature of Kriol baby-talk is the modification of certain lexical items. In general an i is added to the heavy form of a word and the word then reduplicated. For example, fish 'fish' becomes bijibiji. Such baby-talk forms are not always restricted to use with children, but are sometimes used between adults to refer to baby animals. In other words, bijibiji is sometimes used between adults to refer to baby fish in addition to being used with children to refer to fish in general. There are also a few specifically baby-talk words, at least in some dialects of Kriol, which are used when talking to infants who have not yet learnt to speak, such as nyanya 'goo-goo'. It is this Kriol baby-talk, not adult Kriol, that has taken over the role of traditional language baby-talk.

In some traditional Aboriginal language situations a child would learn his mother's language as his first language. At puberty, he would then learn his father's language, which would possibly be followed by several other languages (Brandl and Walsh 1982:76, Cole 1979:25-26). When he learnt his father's language, it would not replace his mother's language, which was his own mother tongue, for the two served different roles. Nor could it accurately be claimed that his mother's language was a baby-talk version of his father's language. He learnt his mother's language as a child, and in that sense alone, it could be considered to be a child language, but it was not used exclusively with children. It was an adult language just as his father's language was, for to his mother's brother's children, it functioned as their father's language.

The relation between Kriol and traditional languages[61] is much more akin to the relation between mother's and father's languages, rather than between adult language and baby-talk. Both are adult languages in the sense of being fully developed languages which are used by adults with adults, but a person would learn the one as a child and the other upon reaching puberty. Similarly, when Kriol-speaking children reach the 'new puberty' or marker of entrance into the adult world (i.e. reaching school-leaving age), they are then 'able' to learn other adult languages.

MULTILINGUALISM IN KRIOL-SPEAKING COMMUNITIES

Modern Kriol-speaking Aboriginal communities, following a "long-standing tradition of multilingualism" (Malcolm 1979:191), are basically multilingual in nature. Aboriginal communities within the Kriol language area typically have speakers of several traditional languages as well as Kriol, Aboriginal English and English[62]. Many older Aboriginal adults are "polylingual specialists" (Sansom 1980:33), speaking several traditional languages. Younger people, on the other hand, tend to lean towards bilingualism, speaking Kriol and English but very little traditional language. One of the unfortunate effects of Europeanization for most Aborigines has been a decline in language facility rather than an extension or development of it (Berndt 1961:25).

The role of Kriol in relation to the other languages which occur in the two hundred and fifty plus Aboriginal communities throughout the Kriol language area as indicated on Map 3, varies from community to community. It is possible to divide the communities into four major categories according to the language which holds the dominant position. The dominant language is the stronger or main language, the one which carries more of the weight of the total communicative load of the overall community and is spoken more often and more fluently by more people than the other languages. The dominant code is basically the one which is overheard the most often on the streets and in the camps.

In the majority of the Aboriginal communities in the Kriol language area, Kriol is the dominant language. A recent survey by Glasgow (1984), for example, indicates that with the possible exception of Rockhampton Downs, Kriol is the dominant language in Aboriginal communities in the Barkly Tableland area. There are no known communities, however, in which only Kriol is present. A detailed description of one community in which Kriol is the dominant language will be provided in chapter four.

Various aspects of the pattern of language use in communities in which Kriol is dominant are discussed at numerous places throughout this book. A generalized summary statement, however, is provided here. Virtually every Aboriginal in such a community speaks Kriol, younger ones as their mother tongue and older ones as a second language with varying degrees of fluency. Older people speak a variety of traditional languages as their mother tongues, with some of the middle aged people controlling a traditional language with varying degrees of fluency. Kriol is used by all Aborigines with all Aborigines, with traditional language being used primarily by older Aborigines with other older Aborigines from the same language group. In many cases, the strength of Kriol relative to particular traditional languages within a given community varies from language group to language group. At Ngukurr, for example, Ngandi goes virtually unused while Ritharrngu is used daily by some of those for whom it is their traditional language.

As noted earlier, every Aboriginal community has some contact with non-Aboriginal English speakers. Kriol is generally not used with these people, except by older Kriol speakers who typically consider themselves to be speaking English when they, in fact, speak Kriol. Most Kriol speakers attempt to learn English, usually compulsorily through schooling, and achieve varying degrees of fluency in it. Their English is usually reserved for use with Europeans or in European domains. Their speech is an interlanguage resembling the dialectal or codified mother tongue variety of Aboriginal English. However, Aboriginal English as a mother tongue is normally not present in such communities.

The next numerically largest group of Aboriginal communities in the Kriol language area are those in which traditional language is dominant. One such community, for example, is Umbakumba, where Anindilyakwa is clearly the dominant language, not only among adults but among children as well. Kriol is spoken, however, by many of the people as a second language, being used primarily with relatives and friends in other communities who do not speak Anindilyakwa. Another such community is Noonkanbah,[63] where virtually all adults from mid-twenty up speak Walmajarri fluently. They use Walmajarri as their main medium of communication within the community. Most can also speak Kriol,[64] which they use primarily with Europeans and non-Walmajarri-speaking Aborigines. Some of the young people in their late teens and early twenties speak both Kriol and Walmajarri, but the majority speak Kriol to everyone. Children and young teenagers, even though they are immersed in Walmajarri at home, speak Kriol exclusively, albeit with a heavy borrowing of Walmajarri words. The role of English and Aboriginal English in communities such as Noonkanbah is essentially the same as in communities in which Kriol is the dominant language.

As with so many aspects relating to Kriol, there is not a discrete dividing line that distinguishes between communities in which Kriol is dominant and communities in which traditional language is dominant. Nor is the situation static. Virtually all Aboriginal communities are undergoing changes in social structure, which in turn affect patterns of speech usage. In most communities in which traditional language is dominant, the changing pattern is towards Kriol predominance at the expense of traditional language. Such change is characteristically distasteful and frustrating for the older people who see their language 'dying'.

One community in which the change from traditional language dominance to Kriol dominance is clearly taking place is Numbulwar (Harris 1982:50). Numbulwar was established in the early 1950s as a mission primarily for Nunggubuyu people, but the mission was located on Wandarang land. This arrangement worked well for over two decades, for most of the Wandarang people were living at Ngukurr. After the death of the Wandarang and Nunggubuyu patriarchs who had made the agreement which allowed this system to work, and under the influence of the government's new land rights legislation, the Wandarang people began to reassert themselves at Numbulwar. In the late 1970s many of them, who are all mother tongue Kriol speakers, moved back to Numbulwar. Kriol had been present at Numbulwar as a second language virtually from its establishment, but Nunggubuyu had clearly been the dominant language. With the influx of the Kriol-speaking Wandarang people, however, the situation is changing. Unless some language engineering takes place, such as the school implementing a strong Nunggubuyu language program, Kriol is likely to become the dominant language at Numbulwar within a generation. Already the children are as much at home in Kriol as in Nunggubuyu.

A survey of Queensland showed that in no community was Kriol the dominant language (Sandefur et al 1982). In those Queensland Aboriginal communities in which Kriol is a primary language, a dialect of Aboriginal English is the dominant language. At Doomadgee, for example, it appears that a variety of Aboriginal English which is closely related to Kriol is the primary language of most of the Aboriginal residents. Many of them claim that their everyday speech is Kriol, but overt observation does not bear this out. Some of them can switch from Aboriginal English into Kriol, as well as into English. Their switch into English, as in the other types of communities, is primarily related to Europeans and European domains. There is, however, one section of the population whose primary language is not Aboriginal English — the so-called 'bottom camp' residents. These people, although long-term residents of Doomadgee, were originally from the Northern Territory. The older adults speak traditional language (Garawa or Yanyuwa) as their mother tongue and Kriol as a second language. Among themselves they tend to use traditional language, reserving Kriol primarily for use with anyone else. It has yet to be firmly established what the language of the children from the bottom camps is, but most likely it is the Aboriginal English of their peers from the majority section of the population.[65]

So far no Aboriginal community has been identified in the Northern Territory or Kimberley sections of the Kriol language area in which Aboriginal English is the dominant language, although it may be dominant in some of the far western Kimberley communities.[66] As discussed earlier, however, among townies in some towns Aboriginal English is dominant. It is unlikely that Kriol will become predominant among townies or in those communities in which Aboriginal English is dominant. The present trend seems to indicate that knowledge of Kriol as a second language in such situations is on the decline, although close study has yet to be made. Social factors, such as Aboriginal identity and having Kriol-speaking relatives, may provide enough impetus for Aboriginal English speakers to generally maintain a knowledge of Kriol.

The fourth type of community, which is not an Aboriginal community as such, is one in which English is the dominant language. All of the communities identified to date which fall into this category are towns. It should be noted, however, that English is dominant in these communities because the population is predominantly non-Aboriginal. With very few exceptions, these non-Aboriginal people speak no Aboriginal language and expect Aborigines to speak English to them. Throughout the Kriol language area, however, there are no Aboriginal communities in which English occupies such a dominant position.

SUMMARY: WHAT THEN IS KRIOL?

It has almost been taken for granted in this book that Kriol is not a pidgin. It was noted in chapter one that there is little agreement among creolists as to what exactly the substantive features of pidgin are. There is, however, a general consensus among creolists regarding the salient features of pidgin. A variety of speech which does not exhibit these features cannot be a pidgin. There are four 'classic' salient features of pidgin: (a) it is not the mother tongue of any of its speakers, (b) it is restricted in it use, (c) it has a limited lexicon, and (d) it is greatly simplified and much less complex than normal languages.

Without a doubt, Kriol fails to meet the qualifications of being a pidgin. As discussed in this chapter, Kriol is the mother tongue of thousands of Aborigines, in some communities of four generations of speakers. As will be discussed in the next chapter, Kriol is basically unrestricted in its use among Kriol speakers. As regards the feature 'limited lexicon', the only sense in which Kriol has a limited lexicon is in terms of it not yet having 'modernized' its lexicon in order to cope with modern technology and higher education. As regards grammatical simplification, Kriol does show some signs of this feature. However, virtually every process of simplification found in Kriol is of a type which occurs in 'normal' languages as well. Kriol is not an inflectional language, and while it makes little use of such features as gender, number, the copula and passive constructions, these features are not totally lacking. In other areas, such as pronouns and the verb structure, Kriol exhibits a complex structure.

Kriol is a creole, although it was pointed out in chapter one that just as there are problems in defining pidgin, so there are also problems in defining creole. The general consensus, however, appears to support DeCamp (1971a:25) who notes that unless the history of a language is known, there is no certain way of identifying it as a creole. Implicit in his statement is the corollary that a language which develops from a pidgin through the process of creolization is a creole. It is well documented (cf. Harris 1984), as was shown earlier in this chapter, that Kriol did indeed develop from pidgin.

Kriol is not English, and if it were not for the fact that most of the lexical items of Kriol were borrowed from English, no one would raise the possibility of Kriol being a form or dialect of English. The semantic system and world view encoded by Kriol, as will be discussed in the next chapter, are not those of English, nor is the grammatical system of Kriol related only to English (Hudson 1983a, Sharpe 1983). Furthermore, Kriol certainly cannot be seen as an English dialect by sociolinguistic criteria — a point which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

It has been assumed by some writers and members of the general public that Kriol is decreolizing and that merger with English and the resultant 'death' of Kriol is inevitable. This is by no means the case. I have argued in this chapter that, except in possibly two relatively minor situations, Kriol is not undergoing decreolization. This may be due to the relatively 'young' age of Kriol. It has only been during the lives of the still living generations that Kriol has developed into the language it is today, so maybe there has not yet been enough time for decreolization to set in. Sharpe (1974a) and Steffensen (1975) were probably justified in the mid-seventies in projecting 'death-dates' for Kriol. I have pointed out elsewhere (Sandefur 1982a), however, that both of these authors included an 'if-clause' in their predictions: if the sociolinguistic situation on which they based their 'death-dates' remains constant. I will argue in chapter four that the situation has changed drastically in favour of a long life for Kriol.

I have argued in this chapter that the so-called Kriol decreolization continuum is in fact a Kriol-to-English interlanguage continuum. In this respect, contrary to the situation in Guyana (Bickerton 1975:113), one man's hypercorrection is not another man's vernacular. This Kriol-to-English interlanguage itself is not Kriol. Colloquially it would be considered to be English. When an English speaker is learning, for example, Russian, he is normally considered to be speaking Russian even though he is not by any means speaking Russian as a Russian speaks.

The colloquial reference to interlanguage identifies it with the target language, but the first language of the second-language learner is not thereby included. Most Kriol speakers are striving to learn English. Regardless of the English fluency they finally acquire, however, their Kriol still remains essentially as it was before.

I have also argued in this chapter that Kriol is not Aboriginal English. Kriol is related to some varieties of Aboriginal English, and in fact virtually every Kriol speaker speaks a variety of Aboriginal English in the sense of interlanguage. A comparison of the grammars of Kriol and varieties of Aboriginal English, which has only been briefly undertaken in this chapter, indicates that there is a significant gap between them. It has also been shown in this chapter that Kriol is distinct from Torres Strait Creole.

To attempt to describe Kriol as simply a part of a single, linear English continuum, especially without any reference to extralinguistic factors as Bickerton (1975) advocates, is to do injustice to the complexities of the Kriol speaker's competence. A model which places Kriol at the basilectal end of a post-creole continuum with English at the acrolectal extreme is too simplistic to accurately account for all the variation associated with Kriol speakers, both within Kriol itself and between Kriol and the other languages in its environment.

Kriol does indeed represent a continuum in the sense that it is not a static language consisting of a fixed number of elements which hold invariant relations with one another. While acknowledging the existence of a continuum, however, I have argued against regarding it as a post-creole continuum.

What then is Kriol? It is a dynamic continuum system: dynamic in that it is not an invariable language; a continuum in that there are a number of subsystems within it which are linked together by gradation rather than being discrete; a system in that it does not consist of a random mixing of elements. This dynamic system, although still in an incipient stage of attaining full autonomy, is nevertheless a language coming of age. In the remaining chapters of this book I will discuss the socio-political factors which have been instrumental in the development of Kriol's newly acquired autonomous identity.

CHAPTER 3

IS KRIOL AN ABORIGINAL LANGUAGE?

It was established in the previous chapter that Kriol is an autonomous language system which is used as a primary medium of communication by Aborigines in over two hundred and fifty Aboriginal communities in North Australia. Incredible as it may seem, however, many people, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, consider Kriol to be a non-Aboriginal language rather than an Aboriginal language. Sandefur (1981a, 1981f) and Roberts and Sandefur (1982) have put forth eight arguments as to why Kriol is clearly an Aboriginal language:

1. Although the development of Kriol was the result of the presence of Europeans and the English language, it was developed by Aborigines.

2. Grammatically, although Kriol has many features in common with English, it also has many features in common with traditional Aboriginal languages.

3. Semantically, Kriol embodies Aboriginal concepts and world view, not European ones.

4. Kriol is spoken fluently by thousands of Aborigines, and only by very few Europeans.

5. Kriol is the mother tongue of four generations of Aborigines, but not of Europeans.

6. Aborigines speaking to other Aborigines who speak different traditional languages feel more at ease and free to speak Kriol in preference to English.

7. Kriol is predominantly used by Aborigines with Aborigines, not Europeans.

8. No Europeans identify with Kriol, but many Aborigines do identify with it and claim it as their language.

The first argument has been implicit in the previous chapter and will also be covered in chapter four. The second argument is not discussed in this book, and those desiring to pursue the subject of the grammatical relationship between Kriol and traditional Aboriginal languages are referred to Hudson (1983a) and Sharpe (1983). The remainder of the arguments, while having been touched on in the previous chapter, will be discussed in this chapter. In particular, the arguments dealing with semantics[67] and identity will be looked at in some detail.

KRIOL AS A REFLECTION OF CONTEMPORARY ABORIGINAL SOCIETY

Kriol is the living language of a contemporary Aboriginal society. As such it is used not only for the transmission of that which is traditional, but also for the expression of that which is contemporary.

The transmission of Aboriginal values, knowledge and heritage in Aboriginal communities throughout the Kriol language area is a function which is today largely performed through Kriol, although certainly not exclusively through Kriol. Traditional languages are still used as a transmission medium by some segments of most communities, but on the whole Kriol has become the primary medium for the transmission of the Aboriginal world view to the younger generations in most of the communities. In a few communities, such as Umbakumba, a traditional language is the primary transmission medium. In fewer still, such as Doomadgee, Aboriginal English has become the primary transmission medium. Very little transmission in any of the communities is by means of English.

In many communities where traditional languages are still used as a transmission medium, they are restricted to a small portion of the population, and often even within such portion of the population, Kriol may be heard more frequently than the traditional language. An example of this is at Ngukurr where the most virile traditional language is Ritharrngu. The 'Ritharrngu Mob' represent about fifteen percent of the total population. They are relatively late comers to the community, having shifted down from central Arnhem Land during the 1940s, some thirty years after the other major groups settled at Ngukurr. They are generally considered to be the least 'educated' group in terms of European education, and yet they are the most knowledgeable about traditional matters. They are the only group at Ngukurr in which a significant number of the younger adults can fluently speak the traditional language.[68] However, even in the Ritharrngu camp, the language most often observed to be in use is Kriol, not Ritharrngu. This is influenced in part by the fact that not everyone who resides in the Ritharrngu camp is Ritharrngu, that some of those who are Ritharrngu do not speak Ritharrngu, and that the peer group of many from the Ritharrngu camp are Kriol speakers outside the Ritharrngu Mob.

Ngukurr can serve as an example also of the complementary functions which are served by traditional language on the one hand and Kriol on the other. The only function exclusively served by traditional language is the singing of traditional songs, as in the bunggul (singing with didjeridoo and clapstick accompaniment). The Ritharrngu Mob is the only group at Ngukurr that regularly have the traditional bunggul for entertainment. Other groups rarely have a bunggul except in relation to formal traditional functions. The songs of the bunggul are all in traditional language, never in Kriol. Conversation between songs and about the songs, however, is usually in Kriol, especially if non-Ritharrngu speakers are present.

The fact that Kriol is not used at all in the singing of traditional songs is not surprising, for traditional songs in one language or dialect are never translated into another[69]. When a person learns a traditional song, he learns it in the original language regardless of what his own language is and whether or not he understands the original language. A traditional 'song cycle' or connected series of songs tells the story of a creative being's journey through a number of different 'countries'. When the creative being moves out of one country and into another, the language in which the songs of that particular part of the journey are composed also changes from the language of the first country to that of the second. Note that each song in the cycle is composed in the language or dialect of the country about which it is telling the story and is never translated into another language. Thus it is impossible for any traditional songs to be in Kriol, at least until Kriol is old enough itself to have become traditional and for the songmen to have been 'given' original songs in it.[70] Kriol is used, however, in discussion of traditional songs, both in terms of their performance and their content and significance.

Although Kriol is not used in the singing of traditional songs, it has been observed to be used for other aspects of formal traditional functions. At Ngukurr, for example, Kriol has been observed to be the primary language used, and in most cases the only language used, in situations such as discussions on various aspects of the preparations for a ceremony (e.g. in giving instructions on readying the ceremony ground and sending out messengers, in debate on the reckoning of the descent line of a man whose parents had married wrong so the correct ceremonial functions could be handed over to him, in argument on the correct version of a traditional story to be taught at a ceremony, and in discussing the performance of the next phase of the ceremony). It has also been observed to be the primary language used in discussions on preparations for and instructions during numerous phases of formal traditional functions relating to death, and in discussions for and instructions and directions during a traditional payback 'fight'.

'Dreamtime' history, the events of creation by the dreamtime beings, is commonly transmitted through Kriol. This is true with regard to formalized traditional stories as well as to impromptu versions or explanations given informally. 'Guided tours', for example, in which Kriol is almost invariably used, are often given to visiting Aborigines at Ngukurr. The stories of the creation of the various geological features of the landscape as well as warnings and instructions relating to dangerous places and expected behaviour are all given in Kriol. Even in communities in which a traditional language is dominant, the presence of visitors may require the use of Kriol. At Oenpelli, for example, Kriol[71] is used instead of Gunwinggu when the group is too mixed to allow the use of a traditional language (Jernudd 1971:19).

Oral history of recent times is also transmitted through Kriol. Stories of events from the last century which have been passed on from the deceased generations are now related in Kriol. At Ngukurr great-grandmothers share events from their own and their parents' generation with their great-grandchildren in Kriol. The past and present experiences of the old and young alike are related to others through Kriol.

Contemporary items of a non-traditional nature, as will be discussed in detail in chapter four, are also transmitted through Kriol. Matters relating to health, education, administration, finances, technology and religion, for example, are typically discussed among Kriol speakers in Kriol. In these contemporary but non-traditional domains, Kriol shows heavy borrowing from English much the same as it shows heavy borrowing from traditional languages in the traditional domains.

Kriol is not the only language through which all of the above can be transmitted. As has been pointed out, they are still transmitted through traditional language by some people. In addition, some people transmit them through Aboriginal English. Theoretically, all of them could be transmitted through English. Kriol is unique, however, in that it is the only language which can be used for all functions (except the transmission of traditional songs) by virtually all Kriol speakers in contemporary society.

World View of Humanity

Being the primary language of a dynamic Aboriginal society, Kriol reflects the contemporary nature of Aboriginal community life. In spite of the general destructiveness of Europeanization, Aborigines have not permitted themselves to be "swallowed wholly by the vortex of acculturation" (Kolig n.d.:4-5). Instead, they have developed their own blend of the traditional and the modern in a distinctively Aboriginal framework. They have been able to do this because they have maintained an "ideational continuity" with their past through the retention of traditional conceptual elements (Kolig n.d.:5).

Although not a traditional language, Kriol has become an essential vehicle of tradition.[72] The tradition it transmits is one in transition, being molded by today's contemporary world view into what will be tomorrow's world view. It goes without saying that this social 're-analysis' is taking place under great tension.

The tension of the social re-analysis of the Aboriginal world view is reflected in attitudes toward Kriol, as will be discussed later in this chapter. It is also reflected, although to a lesser degree, in the linguistic re-analysis slowly taking place within Kriol. This reflection can be exemplified from the Kriol lexicon.[73]

The Kriol term blekbala, in spite of its derivation from the English 'blackfellow' does not in its deepest sense simply refer exclusively to Aborigines. In one sense it denotes (any) 'human being' and thus its reference includes non-Aboriginal people as well. It is not the case that the Aboriginal concept of 'humanity' is imprecise, as has been claimed by some writers (e.g. Kolig n.d.:11). It is simply at odds with the European concept. The English term is based on the criterion of race, whereas the Kriol term is based on the criterion of language. Basically, any being who possesses the ability to communicate through language is considered to be blekbala.

Language has traditionally been seen by Aborigines as of pre-eminent importance as a determinant of full humanity (Kolig n.d.:8). For example, a person who is pathologically deaf (i.e. a debala) is considered to be, at least partially, insane (med) and thus, in a sense, not fully human.[74]

Language competence is not limited to human beings, but is an attribute of certain spirit and animal beings as well. For example, the wallaby who according to the mythology split open Napurr Gorge on the lower Roper River is considered to be a blekbala. From a European perspective this is generally regarded as simply mythology relating to geological events in the distant past. From a traditional Aboriginal perspective, however, that wallaby was and still is a blekbala just as much as people living today are blekbala.

The term blekbala is also used, however, in a more restricted and seemingly English way. It is used to refer to Aborigines in contrast to non-Aborigines. Before the arrival of the extremely hostile 'aliens', Aborigines did not see themselves as Aborigines, for they had nothing with which to contrast themselves racially. The violent and destructive Europeans, however, were beings of a different order. Although considered to be blekbala because of their linguistic ability, they were given a specific group label. From the Aboriginal ethnocentre, it was the Europeans who behaviourally were not fully blekbala. Thus it is that blekbala are blekbala in all contexts, while Europeans are blekbala in some contexts but munanga[75] in others.

This dual classification system was further complicated by the arrival of the offspring from the cohabitation of the two classes of blekbala. Such offspring, while being blekbala in the broader sense of being human, were rejected by both the narrower class of blekbala and the munanga. The result was the formation of a second not-fully-blekbala group, which was labelled yelabala. A third group entered the scene, primarily during the gold rushes of the late-1800s — the Asians or jainaman.

Thus, from an ethnocentric perspective, Aborigines of full descent have no exclusive label. They are the reference point for all humanity. Anyone who differs, differs from them and is thus identified. The criteria of difference is not, however, restricted to racial origin. The central specific reference point is initiated manhood. In some contexts, Aboriginal men are referred to as blekbala, whereas Aboriginal women and children are referred to as olgaman and biginini respectively.

This system, however, appears to be changing. The major change is a shift in the referent of blekbala in its broadest sense from 'humanity' to the narrower 'of Aboriginal descent'. There is now an increasing number of Kriol speakers who claim that blekbala is not synonymous with pipul ('people') and that munanga can in no way be blekbala. Under this emerging system, pipul is 'humanity', and blekbala is one category of pipul, while others are munanga and jainaman.

Conceptually, many Kriol speakers appear to have made this change, but in practice many of them continue to operate under the older world view, and some actually oppose the change. A few, for example, insist that blekbala is 'proper' Kriol while pipul is 'light' Kriol and therefore blekbala should be used in preference to pipul in Kriol books, including the Kriol translation of the Bible.

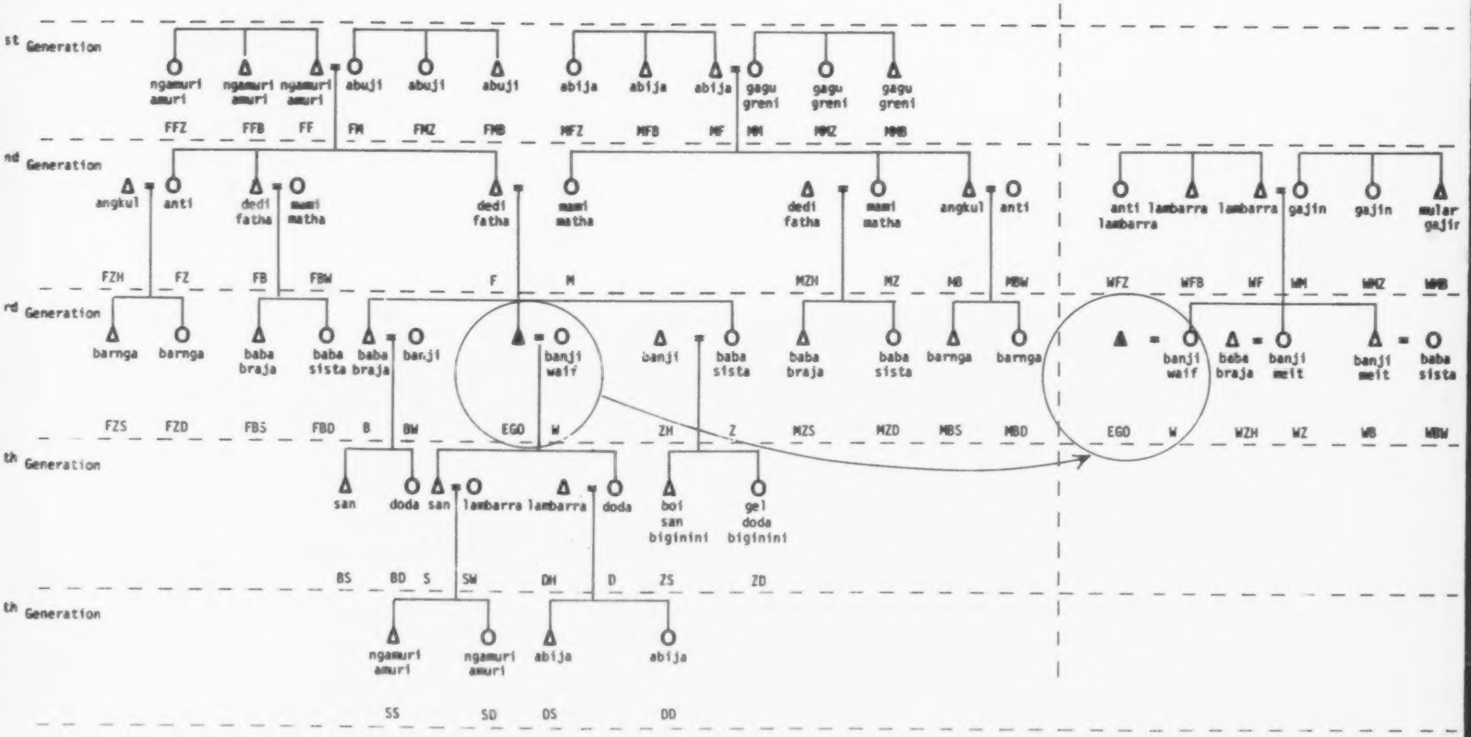
Another way in which the system appears to be changing, hinted at above, is in regard to the category of yelabala. It is well documented that yelabala have long been rejected people, generally acceptable to neither of their progenitors. In the past, many yelabala themselves rejected any identification as blekbala, but the quest for Aboriginal identity during the past decade has reversed this trend. There appears to be growing uncertainty among Kriol speakers in the use of the term yelabala. In particular, it seems that Aborigines of full descent are becoming less inclined to use the term when directly addressing Aborigines of mixed descent. As the distinction between blekbala in opposition to munanga and jainaman is being sharpened, the distinction between blekbala and yelabala is beginning to decline.

As was mentioned in chapter two, the intended direction of social mobility of yelabala in the past was typically towards Europeanization. Today it is generally towards Aboriginalization. Unlike Aborigines of full descent who have and desire to maintain a specific 'tribal' affiliation, however, many yelabala are seeking a 'pan-Aboriginal' affiliation. For tribal affiliation, knowledge of a traditional Aboriginal language is critical, even if only an 'academic' knowledge. For 'pan-Aboriginal' affiliation, a 'super-tribal' language is needed. In the central and western parts of North Australia, Kriol has the potential for fulfilling that need. Whether or not Kriol acquires the status of a 'semi-national' Aboriginal language will depend primarily upon the perceptions and attitudes of Kriol speakers themselves.

Contemporary Kinship

In this and the following section I will discuss the way in which Kriol is used to express two of the most common topics of discussion among

CONTEMPORARY KRIOL KINSHIP SYSTEM AT NGUKURR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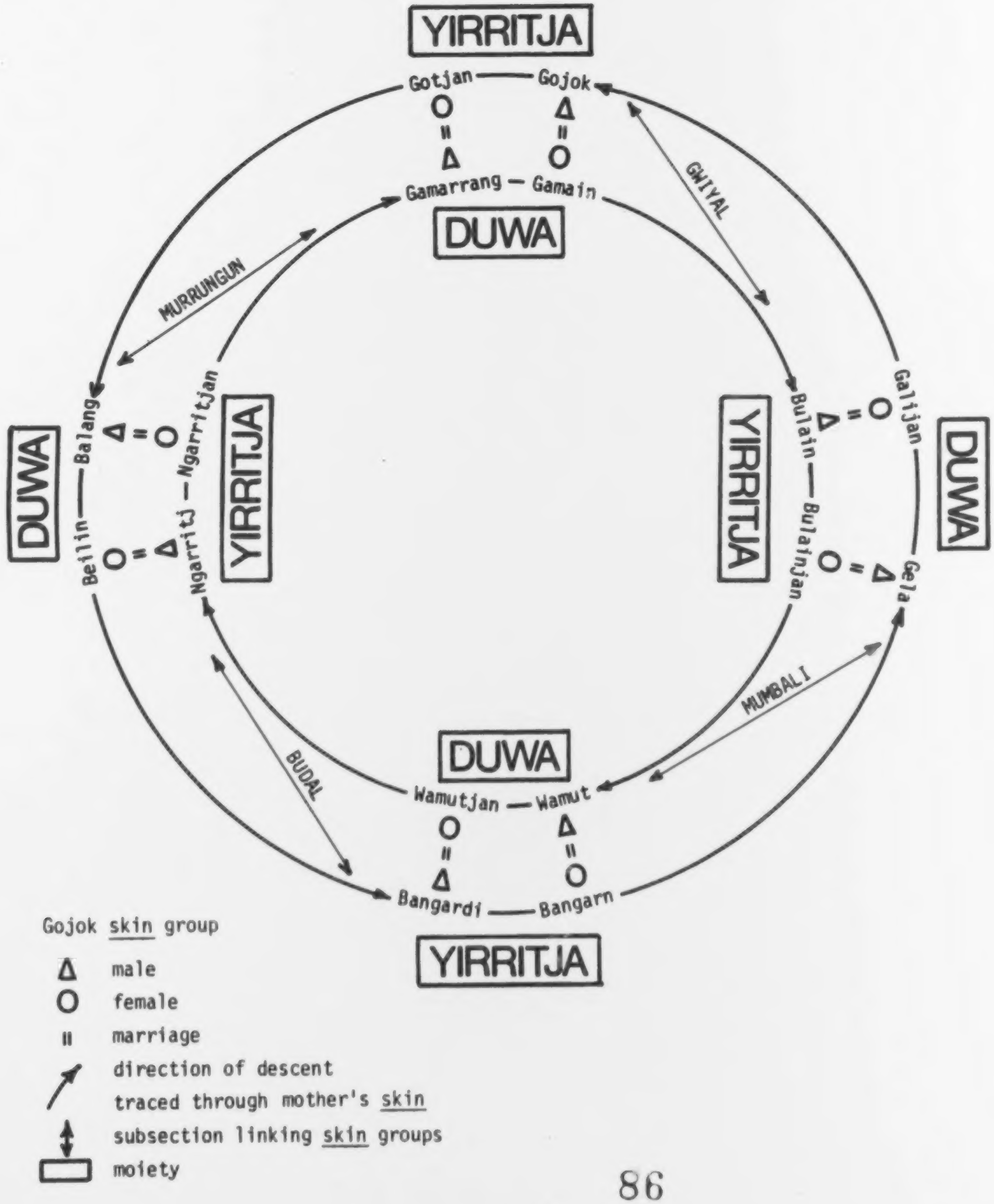
THE SKIN SYSTEM AT NGUKURR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YIRRITJA
Bulain
Bulainjan
Galijan
Gela
DUWA
MUMBALI
BUDAL
DUWA
Wamutjan
Wamut
Bangardi
Bangarn
YIRRITJA
Gojok skin group
Δ male
O female
= marriage
direction of descent traced through mother's skin
subsection linking skin groups
moiety

Kriol speakers in today's contemporary Aboriginal communities — people and food. If good relations are maintained with one's fellows and if food is not in short demand, then one's safety is well in hand. When talking about people, kinship relations are a central concern. Security rests in being intimately acquainted with one's extensive range of relatives.

Aboriginal society is one in which face-to-face interaction among relatives makes up a large part of everyday life. In this society, kinship is the basis of social relations, the indicator of the general range of expected behaviour (Berndt and Berndt 1968:69). It is kinship that regulates most activity among Aboriginal people, even among urban Aborigines of mixed descent (Eckermann 1973:28).

Aboriginal languages have developed elaborate terminological systems to encode and express the complexity of personal relationships of the kinship system. The kinship system is not, however, simply a system of terms. The behaviour associated with the terms is of equal importance.

Kriol, being an Aboriginal language, functions to encode this complex kinship system. Some of the terms used in Kriol have been derived from English, while others have been derived from traditional Aboriginal languages.[76] Most of the English-derived terms are fairly universally used in all dialects of Kriol, whereas the traditional-language-derived terms tend to be regionalized in their use. In some regions, such as the Roper River area where Kriol has a fairly deep time base, a set of terms has come to be used almost universally throughout the region with a general loss of conscious awareness among Kriol speakers as to their specific traditional-language etymology. In other regions, such as the Fitzroy Valley where the time base is fairly shallow, Kriol speakers tend to use terms derived from their own traditional language group.[77]

Most of the Kriol kinship terms used for specific and classificatory relationships are derived in form from English, but semantically they encode the non-English Aboriginal system. In addition to being used in referring to people, kinship terms are normally also used in addressing people. In the description given below of the kinship system for an extended family in the Roper River area, ego represents a male.[78] This system is summarized in a kinship chart below.

Ego's mother is called *mami* and his father is called *dedi*, or *matha* and *fatha* respectively in *light* Kriol. Ego's brothers and sisters are generally called *baba*, although they may also be called *braja* and *sista* respectively. Upon reaching puberty, however, a taboo or avoidance relationship prevents a boy from speaking directly with his sister and he often refers to her as *rabish* rather than *sista* or *baba*. A female will sometimes refer to her brother with the plural pronoun *olabat*. In the western dialects *baba* is usually used only to refer to males.

Ego applies the term *dedi* not only to his biological father, but also to his father's brothers. This is not just a matter of calling an 'uncle' *dedi*, but the 'uncle' *dedi* treats ego the same as his own biological sons. Not only are the terms identical, but the roles are identical as well. Similarly, the term *mami* applies not only to biological mother, but also to mother's sisters. As was the case with the 'uncle' *dedi*, ego's 'aunty' *mami* treats him the same way as she treats her own biological sons. Both the terms and the roles are identical.

In contrast with father's brothers, mother's brothers are not *dedi* but *angkul*. Similarly, father's sisters are not *mami* but *anti*. Thus the relationships on ego's mother's side of the family are a 'mirror image' of those on his father's side. A marriage relation that is very common across a wide stretch of the Kriol language area is 'sibling exchange' in which ego's anti marries ego's angkul. Antis would not normally be living in the same household as ego since they marry into another family.

The children of ego's anti and angkul are called barnga, which could be translated 'cousin'. It should be noted, however, that barnga only applies to ego's father's sister's children and to mother's brother's children, i.e. to 'cross-cousin'. The western dialects make a distinction between males and females in this category, referring to male cross cousins as kasinbratha and female cross cousins as kasinsista. Ego's father's brother's children as well as his mother's sister's children, or his 'parallel cousins', are called baba. Thus parallel cousins are classified in the same category as ego's brothers and sisters.

The person whom ego marries is called banji. This term is used not only for ego's wife, but also for her sisters and brothers. Ego's brothers- and sisters-in-law are also called meit. Sibling exchange marriages are also common on ego's generation level. Ego's brother-in-law banji or sister-in-law banji may marry ego's baba or sista or braja respectively. There is a special relation between in-laws of the same generation level. Ego would be required to support his banji group in time of social difficulty, and it is likely that ego's wife's sisters would live as a part of ego's household. Ego's own sister, even though she may be married to ego's wife's brother or his banji, would not live in ego's household because of the brother-sister avoidance taboo. The light Kriol forms asbin and waif are also used to refer to husband and wife respectively, especially in the western dialects where banji refers to a 'playboy' rather than a spouse.

Ego calls his wife's father lambarra and her mother gajin.[79] All of ego's father-in-law's brothers and sisters can be called lambarra, but more frequently ego's father-in-law's sisters are called anti. Ego's mother-in-law's brothers and sisters are also called gajin, although ego's mother-in-law's brothers can also be called mulari. There is a very strict avoidance taboo between a man and anyone classed as his gajin. He can not speak to them, look at them, or even pass nearby them. There is, however, a special ceremonial relationship between ego's father-in-law and his mother-in-law's brothers.

Ego calls his mother's father abija and his mother's mother gagu or greni. Abija, however, refers not only to mother's father, but also to mother's father's brothers and sisters. Similarly, gagu or greni refers to ego's mother's mother as well as mother's mother's brothers and sisters. Ego's gagu (or greni) takes a particular interest in ego's children, and if a child is orphaned, he/she is likely to be brought up by someone he/she calls gagu or greni.

On ego's father's side, ego's grandfather is called ngamuri, or sometimes amuri, and ego's grandmother is called abuji. In parallel with the terms on ego's mother's side, the term ngamuri refers to ego's father's father as well as his brothers and sisters, and abuji refers to ego's father's mother as well as her brothers and sisters. This usage is consistent with the subsection system in which brothers and sisters are classified into the same groups. Children are often given the same personal name as their ngamuri, with boys being given the name of their father's father and girls being given the name of their grandfather's sister.

Ego's own children are called *san* and *doda*. Ego also uses the terms *san* and *doda* to refer to his brother's children, and he treats them accordingly. Ego's sister's children are sometimes called *san* and *doda*, but more often they are referred to as *boi* and *gel* or, without sex distinction, as *biginini*.

As the system has been presented here in relation to ego, the sets of terms relate to four generation levels. The fifth generation, that is ego's grandchildren, are referred to by the same terms as his grandparents in the first generation.

It should be noted that some of the kinship terms are reciprocal. For example, ego calls his father-in-law *lambarra*, and his father-in-law also calls him *lambarra*. Other reciprocal terms include *abija*, *abuji*, *baba*, *banji*, *barnga*, *gagu*, *gajin*, *mulari* and *ngamuri.*

In addition to the system of kin terms, what is known in the literature on Aboriginal societies as the 'subsection' system is also in operation throughout most of the Kriol language area. Everyone within the society, whether by birth or by 'adoption', is divided into two groups or moieties. Each of these moieties is divided into two sections, which are in turn subdivided into two subsections each. All of these are labelled with Kriol terms derived from traditional languages. There are two terms for each of the eight subsections, one referring to the males within a subsection, the other to females within that subsection. The specific Kriol terms for these various divisions are not used universally throughout the Kriol language area, but most Aboriginal people know how the system works in other places and can readily substitute the right term.

Kriol speakers refer to subsection as *skin*, with each subsection or *skin* having its own specific label. Each person is born into a given *skin* group on the basis of the *skin* of his mother, and each person is obliged to marry someone of a compatible *skin*. People with *skin* compatible for marriage are considered to be *streit*. *Streit* marriages are important because *skin* works at a generational level, and marriages which are not *streit* are essentially considered to be incestuous relationships.

Without *skin* a person cannot function normally within Aboriginal society. A person must have *skin* in order for others to known how to relate to him. Without *skin*, relationships between persons cannot be established. This is so important that a person who is not born into the society (i.e. a non-Aboriginal person) but who is 'adopted' into the society, is 'given' a *skin*. One of the first things to be discovered upon meeting a stranger is to find out what his *skin* is and hence know how one is related to him. It is considered impolite, however, to ask a person directly what his *skin* is, so it is normally asked through a third person. *Skin* is an important part of an Aboriginal person's identity and often functions as a name for the person. Thus a person may be both addressed and referred to by his *skin*, as in *Gojok! Yu kaman iya!* 'Gojok! (skin term) Come here!' and *Gojok bin dalimbat mi tharran jejeya.* 'Gojok was telling me that.'

There are eight *skin* groups, each with a separate term for male and female members of the group.[80] If ego is *Gojok*, all of his classificatory brothers are *Gojok* and his sisters *Gotjan*. Ideally *Gojok* should marry someone whose *skin* is *Gamain*. Her brothers would be *Gamarrang*. Descent is traced through the female, so the children of *Gojok* and *Gamain* would be *Bulain* if a boy and *Bulainjan* if a girl. *Bulainjan* should ideally marry *Gela*, the brother of *Galijan*. Their sons would be *Wamut* and daughters *Wamutjan*. *Wamutjan* should marry *Bangardi*, the brother of *Bangarn*. Their sons would be *Ngarritj* and daughters *Ngarritjan*. *Ngarritjan* should marry *Balang*, the brother of *Beilin*. Their sons would be *Gamarrang* and daughters *Gamain*. *Gamain*, of course, should ideally marry *Gojok*, and the cycle begins again, repeating itself every four generations. Ego's grandchildren will have the same *skin* as his grandmother.

People do not always marry according to the ideal system, and an alternative does exist. Instead of ego marrying his *banji*, he could marry his *barnga*. Ego's *barnga* is a closer relation of the same generational level, but is still outside the bounds of an incestuous relation. Thus it is that *Gojok* in the example above could have married *Wamutjan* instead of *Gamain*. Instead of his grandchildren having the same *skin* as his grandmother, they would have the same *skin* his preferred wife would have had.

As was mentioned above, everyone in Kriol-speaking areas is divided into two groups or moieties. While Kriol has a term for 'sub-section' (*skin*), like other Aboriginal languages, it has no generic term for moiety. Each of the moieties, however, has its own specific name. In some of the eastern dialects these two groups are *Yirritja* and *Duwa*. Each of the subsections belongs to one or the other of the moieties. *Gojok*, *Bulain*, *Bangardi*, *Ngarritj* and their female counterparts all belong to *Yirritja*, while *Wamut*, *Gela*, *Gamarrang*, *Balang* and their female counterparts belong to *Duwa*. This bisecting of society is applicable to more than just people. Among the more traditionally oriented Kriol speakers, the moiety division is also applicable to plant foods, animals and some aspects of natural phenomena. For example, the sand goanna, barramundi, jabiru, native cat, bush turkey and lightening are *Yirritja*, while the king brown snake, python, white eagle, crow, catfish and rock wallaby are *Duwa*. The most important application of the moiety division, however, is in relation to ceremonies or *bisnis*. Ceremonies 'belong' to a moiety. For example, the *Yabadurruwa* belongs to *Yirritja* and the *Kunapipi* to *Duwa*.[81] The people who belong to the *Yirritja* moiety are the performers or owners or *minggirringgi* of the *Yabudurruwa* while the *Duwa* people are the stewards or *bos* or *junggayi* of the *Yabudurruwa*. The roles are reversed with the *Kunapipi*.

It should be noted that the moieties are exogamous and that a father and his sons belong to the same moiety. This is very important in the Roper River area, for while *skin* is determined according to matrilineal descent, *bisnis* is determined according to patrilineal descent. In this respect, an important grouping is the section or semi-moiety. Each moiety has two semi-moieties, each of which is composed of the two subsections to which the father and son belong. Thus it is that the *Gojok* and *Bulain* *skin* belong to the *Gwiyal* section, which, along with the *Budal* section consisting of the *Bangardi* and *Ngarritj* *skin*, belong to the *Yirritja* moiety; while the *Wamut* and *Gela* *skin* belong to the *Mumbali* section, which, along with the *Murrungun* section consisting of the *Gamarrang* and *Balang* *skin*, belong to the *Duwa* moiety.

Classification of Food and Animals

In traditional nomadic Aboriginal society a major portion of time and energy was spent on the acquisition of food. Today, food still maintains a central place of importance in Aboriginal society, even though the means of obtaining food has changed drastically. This importance is indicated by the fact that food is one of the most common topics of conversation in Kriol.[82]

Food is classified in Kriol in a number of ways, along principles similar to those found in traditional languages. There are five types of foods that Kriol speakers generally consider to be essential. If any one of these five is not available (e.g. the local store is out of stock), Kriol speakers often loudly complain about the matter: *Olabat bin binijimap ola daga.* 'They have eaten all the food.' *Nomo daga la shop.* 'There is no food in the store.' *Shop bin ranat bla daga.* 'The store has run out of food.' or *Melabat perrish bla daga.* 'We are starving.' Such complaints are commonly heard if one of the five types is not available, even though the store may be well stocked with other foods. The five items are:[83]

1. *bif* (*mit* in the western dialects): This is a generic term that refers to all edible meats, not just 'beef'. This includes wild game such as kangaroo, brolga, goanna and some fish; meat on the hoof such as bullock, buffalo, donkey (although not everyone eats all of these); and store-bought meat such as beef, ham, and chicken, tinned or otherwise. With some Kriol speakers *bif* also includes eggs. *Bif* is in contrast to *daga*, which refers primarily to vegetable foods, although there is a generic use in which it refers to any food. *Bif* is also used in general contrast with non-edible meat, such as certain birds. This distinction, however, is partially dependent on context. Some items are edible for animals but not for humans. They are *bif* for the animals but not for the humans. In other contexts, *bif* or *bifpat* is used to refer to the 'flesh' of humans and animals without reference to edibility.

2. *damba*: This refers to damper, the heavy quick bread which is normally cooked in the ashes of a fire. It is in contrast to *bred* ('yeast bread'). *Damba* satisfies a person's hunger all day, whereas *bred* fills the stomach for only a very short time and cannot satisfy a person's hunger. The two essential ingredients of *damba* are *flawa* ('flour') and *raisin* or *beikinpauda* ('baking powder'), although it can be made without the *raisin*. Therefore, if *flawa* is not available, *damba* is not available, and the people claim to be starving. The term *daga* (or *taka* in the western dialects), as mentioned above, is used primarily to refer to vegetable food in contrast to *bif* or *mit* foods. In the eastern dialects *daga* is also used generically to refer to any food. In contrast to this generic use, *daga* is sometimes used with a very specific reference to *damba*, possibly because *damba* is considered to be the real substance or main staple of Aboriginal food.[84] *Damba*, in essence, functions as the type species of *daga*.

3. *ti* or *tilif*: This refers to tea or tea leaf, tea bags being relatively unknown. Although *kofi* ('coffee') is also enjoyed and even preferred by many Kriol speakers today, *ti* is the staple hot drink. Breakfast often consists only of *ti*. When there is no *tilif* available, people are starving. There are a number of varieties of *ti*, including *swit ti* ('tea with sugar'), *balgin ti* or *jaina ti* ('tea without sugar') and *milgi ti* ('tea with milk').

4. *shuga*: This refers to sugar, almost without exception white refined sugar. It is considered essential for *ti*. Apart from diabetics, very few Kriol speakers drink their *ti* without *shuga*. Normally, *shuga* is in contrast to *shugabeig*, the traditionally available wild honey. When *shuga* is in short supply, *shugabeig* may be substituted, but the complaint of starvation is not thereby eliminated.

5. *tabega*: This refers to tobacco, either plug tobacco or rolling tobacco. *Tabega* is not a food in the European sense, but tends to be classed with foods by Kriol speakers, presumably because it is being

chewed. When chewing tabega is in short supply, the complaint of having run out of daga is often made. Tabega is also smoked, and when in a smokable form is referred to as smok. When tabega is in short supply, dried tilif is often used as an unsatisfactory substitute for smoking.

It was mentioned above that food is classified as bif or mit if it is edible meat products and daga or taka if it is edible vegetable food. Another major division is blekbala daga and munanga daga. Blekbala daga refers to traditional or indigineous foods, whereas munanga daga refers to the introduced or store-bought foods. The division is not, however, absolute. Damba is considered blekbala daga even though it is normally made these days out of store-bought ingredients (white flour and baking powder) instead of traditional ingredients (e.g. ground water lily seeds).

There are a number of other minor ways in which foods are classified by Kriol speakers. As mentioned earlier, some Kriol speakers, mainly those who still maintain contact with a fairly traditional lifestyle, apply moiety classifications to foods. Some Kriol speakers also classify foods according to the environment in which they grow. For example, foods such as yams that grow in the ground and require digging to harvest, are referred to as 'digging foods'; foods such as water lilies and mussels that grow in water, are referred to as 'water foods'.

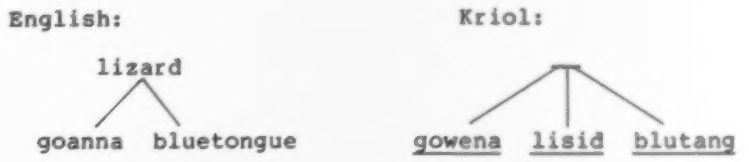
The parts of vegetable foods are divided by some Kriol speakers into those which grow below the ground and those which grow above the ground. The underground or insaid parts are referred to as gurnda, literally 'buttocks'. They are sometimes referred to as guna, literally 'faeces', but this term is much more vulgar and less acceptable in public. The above-ground part of vegetable foods, which is applicable to plants in general, is referred to as gabarra or hedpat, the 'head' of the plant.

There are a number of restrictions or taboos on the consumption of certain foods. Many of these relate back to the application of the kinship subsection classifications to foods, especially to traditional edible animals. For example, the black-nose python is classified as Gojok. A man who is also Gojok may hunt the black nose python, but because the snake is the man's drimin or ancestral relation he cannot eat it.

If a person is offered food which he cannot eat because of food taboos, he can refuse the food with the explanation Ai nomo gan dagat. 'I cannot eat it.' If a person wishes to refuse food because he does not like the particular food, he can politely refuse with the explanation Ai nomo sabi diskainbala daga. 'I am not familiar with this food.' On the other hand, a person who does not want to share some food with another person can attempt to excuse his selfishness with the explanation Yu nomo sabi diskainbala daga. 'You are not familiar with this food.' A counter response would be for the person to say that he is familiar with the food: Ai sabi. 'I am familiar (with it).' in which case the person would be obliged to share it with him.

With regard to the taxonomy of animals, in traditional languages each species has its own specific term, usually with different terms for male and female of each species. Kriol, in contrast, has borrowed generic terms from English without lexicalizing species distinctions, such distinctions being made by the use of descriptive words or phrases. Although Kriol has borrowed the English generic terms, these are not always used as hyponyms but are sometimes used as subcategory labels. These changes of reference are in part determined by edibility. The following examples illustrate the variety of ways in which English generic terms are placed in Kriol classificatory systems:

Lizards which are too small to be edible are referred to as *lisid*, whereas all lizards which are edible are referred to as *gowena* (in the western dialects, sometimes *kakaji* as well). The bluetongue lizard, which is edible, is in a class by itself and is referred to as *blutang*.



The various species of *gowena* do not have specific names but are referred to by a descriptive phrase that reflects its habitat, such as *wada gowena* (lives near water), *riba gowena* (lives near running water), *sen gowena* (lives in sandy country) and *tap gowena* (lives in timbered country).

Snakes are referred to in Kriol as *sneik*. While some *sneik* are edible, edibility is not lexicalized as it is with *gowena* and *lisid*. Edible *sneik*, like other edible animals, are categorized as *bif* or *mit*. *Sneik* are also classified as being either *jikiwan* or *poisinwan* ('poisonous') or *kwayitwan* ('non-poisonous'). Unlike *gowena*, some *sneik*, in general the poisonous ones, are referred to by a specific name rather than a descriptive phrase, such as *debeda*, *bandiyan* and *taipen*. Most non-poisonous *sneik*, however, are referred to by a descriptive phrase, such as *wip sneik*, *mun sneik*, *fail sneik*, *kwayit sneik* and *imiyu sneik*.

Frogs provide a further example of unique Kriol classificatory systems. There are many edible species of frog, especially in the Kimberleys. Other species of frog are used for fishing bait or simply avoided, as is the common green frog. All of these frogs are referred to in Kriol generically as *frog*. Like *sneik*, the distinctions of edibility have not been lexicalized in Kriol. Also, like *gowena*, the different species do not have specific terms but are referred to by a descriptive phrase. In some cases the descriptive phrase reflects the habitat (e.g. *sen frog* (one that lives in sand banks around creeks and waterholes)). In most cases, however, the descriptive phrase reflects a physical characteristic of the frog. Usually the phrase reflects the colour of the frog (e.g. *grinwan frog* ('green' frogs, one species of which lives around houses, another in pandanus), *yelawan frog* or *greiwan frog* ('yellow' and 'grey' frogs, both of which live in pandanus)). In other cases, the phrase reflects another physical characteristic (e.g. *bigwan frog* (the 'largest' species)). Frogs are also referred to by descriptive phrases that reflect the utilitarian characteristics of specific frogs. This 'system' overlaps or supplements the previous one. For example, a *sen frog* is a *beitwan frog* (i.e. it is useful for fishing bait), or a particular frog may be a *beit lilwan frog* (a small frog useful for bait) or a *bigwan frog bla itim* (a large edible frog).

I have tried to show that while the forms of most lexical items in Kriol have been borrowed from English, in some cases with the denotation of the Kriol word remaining essentially the same as that of its English etymon, in many cases the denotation has shifted. Such shifting often results in miscommunication on the part of Anglo-Australians. Two dramatic examples are provided by Sandefur and Sandefur (1981:xi) and Hudson (1983a:127) respectively. In the one case, a woman whose arm had been 'broken' was later discovered in fact to have had her arm completely severed. In the other case, a report of someone 'drowning' brought a rush of medics and police who found the 'drowned' person happily sitting in the shade of a tree on the riverbank. The Kriol lexicon is thus far more than simply an English lexicon with pronunciation adjustments and slight denotation shifts. The semantic system of which the Kriol lexical items are a part is not an Anglo-Australian system. The world view reflected is clearly that of a contemporary Aboriginal-Australian system. Semantically, Kriol is a modern Aboriginal language, not an Anglo-Australian one.

SOCIOLINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF THE USE OF KRIOL

In this section, we will look at how Aborigines' perception of and attitudes toward Kriol[85] affect the use of the language. Davidson[86] (1977) provides an unpublished study of the attitudes of adults at Barunga [formerly Bamyili] toward the use of Kriol as part of the school's bilingual program. He interviewed fifty adults, twenty-eight of whom were of the first generation to have contact with Europeans and twenty-two of the second generation. Those of the first generation were born and reared in a traditional Aboriginal setting and moved into an Aboriginal compound before or during World War Two, whereas those of the second generation were born or reared in an Aboriginal compound or a town during or since World War Two.

The division between first and second generation contact basically corresponds to a division between those who learnt a traditional Aboriginal language as their first language and those who learnt Kriol as their first language. It should be noted that the division between the generations of contact is not necessarily synonymous with the divisions of age generations. In some families children who were born after the establishment of the Barunga community speak Kriol as their mother tongue, whereas their elder siblings who were born before the establishment of the community speak a traditional language as their mother tongue and Kriol as a second language (Sandefur 1981f).

All the second generation contact respondents in Davidson's study considered Kriol to have been created by Aboriginal people many years ago, whereas ninety percent of the first generation considered it to have been created by Europeans. Eighty percent of the second generation respondents considered Kriol to be an Aboriginal phenomenon, which implies Aboriginal ownership. Twenty percent considered it to be jointly owned by Aborigines and Europeans. Only one of the first generation respondents considered Kriol to be an Aboriginal phenomenon, while seventy percent considered it to be a European phenomenon. The other first generation respondents considered it to be jointly owned by Aborigines and Europeans.

Davidson noted, however, that throughout a number of interviews Kriol was confused with English. Among the first generation respondents, Kriol and English were seen as being similar. Second generation respondents, in contrast, generally distinguished between the two. There was general agreement among all respondents that Kriol should be a national Aboriginal language.

Davidson also noted a discrepancy between the generations in their perceptions of the relationship between light Kriol, heavy Kriol and English. Fifty percent of the second generation respondents said that light Kriol and English were similar, whereas only twenty five percent said that heavy Kriol and English were the same. With first generation respondents, seventy eight percent said light Kriol and English were similar, whereas fifty percent said heavy Kriol and English were the same. Both generations to a similar extent (seventy percent for first generation and seventy five for second) regarded light and heavy Kriol as interchangeable.

Davidson also noted that throughout the interviews various responses suggested that in talking to a person or initiating conversation with a stranger, especially a non-Aboriginal person, mutual understanding was the deciding factor in the choice of a language for communication. This also applied to outcomes for the use of Kriol in front of teachers and bosses. He concluded (1977:13) that language choice appeared to be a conscious one of convenience rather than a covert one implying deep structure or psychological involvement with the situation.

Two Sociolinguistic Rules

In a survey of the Kimberleys, Sandefur and Sandefur (1980:31) noted the main sociolinguistic rule for the use of Kriol: if one can speak English then one does not use Kriol with Europeans, and preferably not even in the presence of Europeans. This rule is in operation throughout the Kriol language area. At Banka Banka on the Barkly Tableland, for example, Glasgow (1984:129) observed children using Kriol[87] between each other and a more standard form of English in responding to Europeans.

There are, however, certain situations in which Kriol is used with Europeans: Kriol speakers who do not speak English, when 'forced' to speak, will use Kriol with Europeans. Most such people are either older people who do not control English, young adults who were unable to complete their English schooling, or young children who have not yet learnt to distinguish Kriol from English. Most of these people adjust their speech as close to English as they are able when talking to Europeans, and back to Kriol when speaking to fellow Aborigines (Sandefur and Sandefur 1980, Hudson 1983a). It appears that this bilingual code-switching and English interlanguage situation is directly related to the degree of English education of individuals (Hudson 1983a:19).

It could be argued, therefore, that the main sociolinguistic rule would be more accurate for actual speech situations if it were stated in the opposite form: English, or as much English as one knows, is to be used with and in the presence of Europeans. Stated thus, the rule covers those situations in which Kriol or a mixture of Kriol and English is used. When speaking to Europeans, a Kriol speaker will shift as far up his Kriol-to-English interlanguage continuum as he is able. With some speakers, as was discussed in chapter two, this means switching to Standard Australian English or a variety of English very close to it. With others, however, their best English performance may be a mesolang 'mixed' variety of speech. In other cases it may even be an essentially basilang Kriol variety of speech.

In reporting on a survey in Queensland (Sandefur et al 1982:38), Daniels, one of the Kriol speakers on the survey team, explained what might be called the 'go slow' rule for the use of Kriol when initiating conversation with a stranger:

> Well, like if I go and I see this person always talking English, you know, he's not speaking pidgin English [i.e. Kriol] even though he's an Aborigine, I must talk to him with English to sort of make him know who I am and I will know who he is, and then I find out about him and then if he uses a bit of pidgin English words, well I go back to pidgin English to sort of contact him with that pidgin English, and then we find out that he speaks pidgin English and then I can talk to him with pidgin English. That's how it works... if he uses some sort of words, like pidgin English words, and he's talking a little bit to you with pidgin English, well, you just let go at him with pidgin English and automatically you'll find he just changes that English and goes back to pidgin English. You have him and you two talk together then with pidgin English.

When asked about using Kriol with Europeans and why Gumbuli, another Kriol speaker on the survey team, had not used Kriol when speaking to a mixed crowd of Europeans and Aborigines, Daniels (1982:38) commented:

> I can't talk pidgin English [i.e. Kriol] to a white. I have to talk to him with English. Yes, I have to talk to him with English... [Gumbuli's] not allowed to speak Kriol to a mixed group. He uses Kriol with Aborigines, but he has to use English with whites. When he speaks to a mixed group, he has to use English so everyone can understand, because if he used Kriol with a mixed group, then the whites couldn't understand.

It is interesting to note in Daniels' comment that the reason a person does not use Kriol with a mixed group is to avoid miscommunication on the part of the Europeans. In spite of his observations, it is not the case that the use of English in a mixed group of standard English speakers and Kriol speakers guarantees an unimpeded flow of communication. Miscommunication often take place because of the use of English (Sandefur 1982c). Most Kriol speakers, indeed, readily recognize Kriol's role in communication, saying that Aboriginal people understand it much better than English (Glasgow 1984:132).

Changing Value Judgements

An important factor which has a bearing on language use is the issue of value judgements. Kriol has long been a despised language, despised by Europeans as well as Kriol speakers. In a survey of the Barkly Tableland, for example, Glasgow (1984:117) reports that a number of people referred to Kriol as "rubbish English" or "bastard English". This terminology was more often used by Europeans encountered on the survey than by Aborigines, with Aborigines closely connected with schools using such terminology more often than others. It appeared to Glasgow that the Aborigines taking this attitude were copying it from Europeans, possibly expecting him to be more approving of that attitude and wanting to be seen as speaking only 'proper' English. He also notes, however, that in spite of such negative attitudes, the vast majority of the Aboriginal people were very interested in the Kriol literature he read to them.

In a study of Kriol in the Fitzroy Valley area of the Kimberleys, Hudson (1983a:15) states that until recently the almost universal attitude was that Kriol is a form of English to be despised. Aborigines who speak Kriol as their primary language shared this view. As a result, as soon as they mastered English in school they quickly learnt to code-switch, using English with Europeans and Kriol among themselves. This meant that

Europeans generally only heard natural Kriol from the children who were still too young to know the difference between it and English.

In recent years, negative attitudes toward Kriol and the use of Kriol have been noticeably changing. In a report on the Roper River area, for example, Sharpe (1974a:21) comments that Aboriginal pride in Kriol as their own language has been increasing since her first visit in the mid-1960s. She notes that Aborigines are less ashamed of using Kriol to Europeans, that city Aborigines will now use Kriol when speaking to Europeans who know it, and that the attitude of Europeans to Kriol is more sympathetic. Sharpe offers no explanation as to what may have been bringing about these positive changes. Formal Kriol language planning by the Summer Institute of Linguistics [SIL] and the Barunga school was just beginning and thus would have had little influence initially on these speakers. As will be discussed in the next section as well as chapter four, changes in government policy towards Aborigines and the rise in emphasis on 'Aboriginality' in the late 1960s and early 1970s were most likely the main catalysts in beginning to bring about a change in attitudes toward Kriol. The establishment and operation of the Barunga Kriol bilingual school program and the work of SIL as well as the School of Australian Linguistics [SAL] with Kriol speakers, as mentioned in chapter two, have helped increase the momentum for positive attitude changes and the resultant rise in the social standing of Kriol.

The attitudes of Kriol speakers in the Kimberleys are also becoming more positive. In 1979 they were made aware of the fact that Kriol was not only spoken in the Kimberleys but also in distant places (i.e. in the Northern Territory) and further, that it was being formally recognized by the N.T. Department of Education as an Aboriginal language. The news that Kriol had attained high status in the Northern Territory and that not only were books being published in it but that it was also being used as one of the languages in a bilingual program in the school at Barunga, had a strong influence on Aborigines in the Kimberleys and led to greater acceptance of Kriol in that region (Hudson 1983a:18-19).[88] In the Fitzroy Valley, for example, Aborigines will now freely speak Kriol to 'accepted' Europeans (Hudson 1983a:16).

The criterion of 'acceptance' in such situations is crucial. It involves a personal knowledge of the European by the Aboriginal person. A non-Aboriginal person must abide by the 'go slow' rule of initiating a conversation with a stranger. Some Aborigines get very upset by Europeans who ignore this rule, considering the European to be 'speaking down' at them. In general, Kriol speakers know whether a non-Aboriginal person is speaking down at them or sincerely attempting to communicate in a positive way with them by using Kriol (Sandefur and Sandefur 1980).

The degree to which Kriol has risen in status in the Kimberleys during the last five years can be seen by the place afforded the language in the Kimberley Language Resource Centre[89] Pilot Study. The report of the study recognized Kriol as "a prominant language in the Kimberley" and noted that some Aboriginal people "say they speak Kriol and they are not ashamed" of it, and that some of the Aboriginal workers who helped carry out the study were "keen to have it used in school" (Hudson and McConvell 1984:61, 33 and 33 respectively). The study group went on to point out that it was "very important for Aboriginal organisations to support the idea of using Kriol, and traditional languages and interpreters in their meetings" (Hudson and McConvell 1984:67).

Kriol, however, still continues to be rejected by many Aborigines, particularly those for whom it is not a first or primary language. This rejection of Kriol stems in part from the attribution by some Aborigines of the loss of traditional language to the influence of Kriol (e.g. Glasgow 1984:133). In the Barkly Tableland area, for example, Glasgow (1984:117) reports that there is indication that some traditional language speakers, mainly older people, resent Kriol taking over from their traditional language among the younger people.

However, as was discussed in chapter two, the loss of traditional language is not brought about by Kriol itself. The loss of traditional languages came about independently and simultaneously with the rise of Kriol, both under the impact of social changes. The problem of losing one's traditional language is only part, albeit an easily identifiable part, of the wider frustration that Aborigines have of losing control of their whole social environment. Richards (1982a:44) points out, for example, that a feeling of the loss of control over their own children was a contributing factor in the development of an independent community school at Noonkanbah, and that "the children's rejection of Walmajarri in favour of Kriol also contributed to the parents' feeling that they had lost the control that they needed".

Some Aboriginal people do not reject Kriol as such, but are opposed to having Kriol put into print. The Kimberley Language Resource Centre Pilot Study, for example, found that "everyone says the old languages should be written... Talking about Kriol they said two different things. Some thought it was a good idea to write it because it's a language all Aborigines understand. But others said it should be used for talking and not for reading and writing" (Hudson and McConvell 1984:33-34). The strongest vocal opposition to written Kriol tends to come from Aboriginal people of mixed descent who are not Kriol speakers. The Moree Champion, for example, carried a report of one such person wanting the published Kriol Christian scriptures burnt while agreeing that tape recordings of the scriptures "would be a better thing".[90]

In spite of the rejection[91] of Kriol for whatever reasons by some Aborigines, knowledge of Kriol is a definite sign of Aboriginal identity in the Aboriginal communities in the Kriol language area. Kriol-speaking Aborigines expect Aborigines to speak Kriol with each other and English with Europeans if they can. Hudson (1983a:16), for example, reports being told by one young woman, "It's not okay for blacks to speak English to each other." Hudson also notes that women from the south of Western Australia where Kriol is not spoken who have married men from Fitzroy Crossing, have learnt Kriol since moving north. The husband of one of them commented: "When my wife first came she used to make me really ashamed. She could only talk like a 'whitefella'. Now she's learning to talk like a 'blackfella'."

KRIOL AND ABORIGINAL IDENTITY

In the previous section I have tried to show that the attitudes of Kriol speakers toward their language have been increasingly positive during the last decade. One of the important factors involved in the change from the despising of Kriol to the accepting of Kriol has been, as Berndt (1970b:5) refers to it, the "upsurge of emphasis on Aboriginality" of the 1970s.

Before the late 1960s there was very little acceptance of Aboriginal identity. Novelist Xavier Herbert had captured the attitude of many Aborigines up to that time in Norman, the tragic character in his 1937 novel Capricornia. Norman was an Aboriginal of mixed descent who tried to pass for a Malayan prince.

There are a number of factors as to why Aboriginal identity was spurned (Wentworth 1973:7-9): There were masses of legal discriminations against Aborigines, who were regarded as almost subhuman and incapable of sustaining normal human rights. There were also a number of 'quasi-legal' penalties, such as law enforcement being generally more rigorous against Aborigines than against Europeans. In addition, there were social penalties, manifest in the commonly held view that Aborigines belonged to an inferior and ineducable race which was condemned to live in squalor. All of these were in a sense external factors which militated against a willingness to accept an Aboriginal identity. There were also internal psychological factors. Aboriginal systems of morals and values had been treated with contempt and hostility by the newcomers who so quickly destroyed their existing structures.

Beginning in the late 1960s there was a massive change towards Aboriginal acceptance of identity, with Aborigines becoming proud of their origin and anxious to assert it. This was brought about largely by the reversal of the factors which had previously militated against the acceptance of such identity (Wentworth 1973:10-11): Changes in government policy eliminated legal discrimination, and introduced what, in the view of many non-Aboriginal people, seemed discriminatory legislation in favour of Aborigines. Socially, the general Australian attitude towards Aborigines as a whole has undergone considerable amelioration, with Aborigines being much more accepted as members of the community. More importantly, and arising to a large degree out of the change in the attitudes and understanding of non-Aboriginal Australians for Aboriginal culture, is the pride which Aborigines recovered in their own heritage. They increased in standing in their own eyes and there was no longer any need to attach a sense of shame to identification with one's Aboriginal heritage. All of these changes are partly a result of the government's change from a policy of assimilation, which was directed towards the stamping out of all vestiges of Aboriginal culture, to a policy which placed emphasis on Aboriginal identity. This change in government policy will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

The change in government policy in the late 1960s made a provision for people to choose to stress their Aboriginality if they so desired, although it did not — and indeed, could not — spell out just what Aboriginality meant. As von Sturmer (1973:16) expresses it,

> those not choosing to follow the path to assimilation may now, it seems, decide to rediscover their Aboriginal identity. In what this identity might consist it is hard to say. Either it is the concept people have of themselves or it is a symbol of something that never was and must now be supposed to be.

The concept of Aboriginality, as von Sturmer (1973:16) sees it, is "a fiction which takes on meaning only in terms of white ethnocentrism", resting on the belief that there are obvious cultural generalities which operate over the whole of Aboriginal Australia. In a sense he is right, for, as was pointed out earlier, originally Aborigines never saw themselves as being Aborigines because they were not conscious of the existence of any non-Aboriginal people. In a sense, then, the creation of an 'Aboriginal identity' is a very un-Aboriginal process for which there is no historical substructure (Wentworth 1973:9).

Aborigines, however, are not simply victims who have an identity thrust upon them by some external alien forces. Rather, they are people who develop new forms of self-identity which "reflect continuity with tradition and purposeful adaptation in new socio-environmental conditions" (Kolig n.d.:4). Aborigines are able to control their identity through the familiar usage of traditional concepts which they adapt because of their intellectual continuity with their past despite their ecological discontinuity (i.e. drastic socio-environmental changes, geographical dislocation, and rearrangement of material and economic lifestyle) (Kolig n.d.:21).

The debate concerning the substance of Aboriginal identity will, no doubt, continue for some time. One point, however, seems certain: language has always been, and continues to be, an important aspect of Aboriginal identity. Traditional identity in terms of 'tribal' affiliation, for example, was based to a large degree on a combination of language and locality (Berndt 1961:17). In contemporary Aboriginal society, a language-group label continues to be used to identify a person long after the language is no longer spoken (Brandl and Walsh 1982:78). Indeed, most Kriol speakers 'tribally' identify with the traditional language or languages to which their parents or grandparents laid claim. For example, as will be discussed in the next chapter, although a feeling of 'Ngukurrness' has developed among the Kriol-speaking residents of Ngukurr, they all retain their 'tribal' affiliation, with the name of their 'tribe' being homophonous with their traditional language in spite of the fact that many of them have no speaking knowledge of it. Language is thus a critical dimension of ethnic identity (Taylor et al 1973), although language alone does not determine identity.

Boundary Marking

Language in Aboriginal Australia, as elsewhere, has two simultaneous but contrasting functions (Lieberson 1970, Brandl and Walsh 1982:73): (a) it functions as a medium of communication, linking individuals and groups to each other, and (b) it functions as a boundary marker, separating individuals and groups from each other.

Of the two functions, it would appear that the latter one is of deeper significance. Aborigines are typically reluctant to relinquish their linguistic boundary markers. In northeast Arnhem Land, for example, some of the differences between the many varieties of the Yolngu language family appear so minimal that they seem trivial and almost artificial to linguists, and yet they are "fiercely defended" by their speakers (Brandl and Walsh 1982:75).

It was noted in chapter two as well as in an earlier section of this chapter, that Aborigines with few exceptions speak English to non-Aborigines in Aboriginal communities. There are two reasons as to why this happens (Brandl and Walsh 1982:74): Firstly, in circumstances where one group feels and acts politically or culturally superior, the other group sets about learning the alien language essentially out of a need for survival. Secondly, Anglo-Australians rarely see the need to speak some other group's language. In the Aboriginal response to this situation, their felt need of maintaining boundary marking towards the politically dominant Europeans is illustrated by the emergence of Aboriginal creoles and dialects of Aboriginal English rather than an acquisition of only standard English (Brandl and Walsh 1982:74).

Deliberate exploitation of boundary marking is sometimes undertaken by Kriol speakers as a display of superiority. One such case, for example, took place at Barunga where an Aboriginal teacher was talking with the school principal and another European, the latter of whom could speak Kriol.[92] The conversation was being carried on in English according to normal protocol when the Aboriginal teacher unexpectedly switched into Kriol. The conversation was carried on for a few minutes in Kriol between the teacher and the second European, with the principal being unable to participate. Just as suddenly as the first switch, the teacher switched back into English with a chuckle and pointedly commented to the principal, "You couldn't understand a word we said!"

Boundary marking in Kriol, however, usually occurs as a result of certain expectations and is not often seen as an exploitable resource. The basic expectation is that Europeans do not speak Kriol. The following three examples[93] illustrate the confusion which can occur when the expected norm is unexpectedly violated. At a take-away food shop in Halls Creek, an amusing incident prompted a European, who was behind the Aboriginal man involved in the incident, to speak to him in Kriol. The man began replying back in Kriol as he turned around to see who had spoken to him. When he saw it was a European, he was so surprised that he stopped speaking in mid-sentence, and with his mouth agape, said not another word until he had received his order and gone outside. On another occasion, the same European went into a third year classroom at Barunga School to speak with the teacher. The European was fairly familiar with the children, but the teacher later reported that after he had left the classroom, an argument had broken out between two of the boys. One boy had declared that the European was a blekbala because of his tongue (i.e. he spoke Kriol), but the other made the counter claim that he was a munanga because of his skin (i.e. white colour), and both felt obliged to defend their positions! Several years later, at the same school, another European who had been speaking Kriol to several children was asked by one of them, "What are you, a munanga or a blekbala?"

Boundary marking in Kriol, as in Aboriginal English, is not restricted to marking off non-Aborigines from Aborigines, but is also used in much the same way as in the Yolngu language family mentioned above. With Aboriginal English a variety of dialects have emerged partly in response to the need Aboriginal groups feel to mark themselves off from other Aboriginal groups with whom they have contact (Brandl and Walsh 1982:75). These dialectal differences can be defended by their speakers in very deliberate ways (Sansom 1980:38).

As was briefly discussed in the previous chapter, the same 'defensive' attitude is often displayed by Kriol speakers of the different dialects. The linguistic features pointed out by Kriol speakers are often seemingly minor ones, such as alternate pronunciation or the use of slightly different forms. Kriol speakers also seem to generally consider differences between their dialect and other dialects to be greater the closer the other dialect geographically is to their own. This probably stems from greater familiarity with the contiguous dialects than the distant ones and a consequently sharper perception of differences.

The boundary marking function of Kriol, as will be discussed in chapter five, is the cause of great consternation for people involved in the development of a 'standardized literary' dialect of Kriol.[94] The emotional attachment of most Kriol literacy workers and teachers to their own dialects is fierce. Seemingly contradictory, however, is the tendency of many Kriol speakers when visiting another Kriol-speaking community to shift their own speech in the direction of that of their host community.

Boundary marking arises in part from a person's emotional attachment to his own speech variety. Emotional attachment to Kriol as a whole has increased significantly during the 1970s and is now often expressed spontaneously. A second-generation mother tongue speaker from Ngukurr, for example, expressed it while visiting her seven year old daughter in the hospital in Darwin. Her daughter had been away from home for a month having heart surgery in Adelaide. Within a few minutes of seeing her for the first time since she had left home, the mother said with an expression of relief, "She can still speak Kriol!".[95]

Identifying with Kriol

It is very common for Kriol speakers to verbally disclaim Kriol around Europeans, particularly around those whom they do not know, or who are known to dislike Kriol. At the same time, the number of Kriol speakers who publicly identify with Kriol as their language is increasing.[96] Sharpe (1983:4), for example, reports that Kriol speakers living at Bagot community in Darwin who did not know her responded to her use of Kriol with them with the reply, "Where did you learn our language?"

The increasingly positive attitudes toward and identification with Kriol at Bagot (as well as many other Aboriginal communities) are not directly due to any particular planned program of action, for as far as I am aware no effort has been made by anyone to promote Kriol or Kriol materials in the community. Indirectly, however, changes in communities such as Bagot could be attributed to the spread of information of the Barunga school Kriol bilingual program and to the work of SIL and SAL, for there is much travel by Kriol speakers between the communities in which Kriol work is being carried out and communities such as Bagot.

With some communities, however, it is difficult to specifically attribute changes in attitudes, even indirectly, to the effects of the planned programs of the Barunga school, SIL or SAL. This is because many Aboriginal communities, such as those in the Barkly Tableland area, have had very little if any contact with the communities, or Kriol speakers from the communities, in which Kriol work is being undertaken. Changes in such communities can be attributed mainly to the effects of changes in government policy towards Aborigines, the rise of Aboriginal identity, and a growing 'linguistic enlightenment' on the part of Europeans in general, especially teachers.[97] All three of these factors are working together to reduce the social pressure placed upon Aborigines to conform to the standard English expectations of many Europeans. The effect of changes in government policy will be discussed in detail in chapter four and the linguistic enlightenment of Europeans in chapter five.

When the pressure to conform to the standard English expectations of most non-Aboriginal interlocutors is removed, the growing response of Aborigines is spontaneously towards positive identification with Kriol. Glasgow (1984:117), for example, reports an interesting incident which happened to him while on the first survey in the Barkly Tableland area that takes Kriol into account. While at Brunette Downs he read from a Kriol book to a group of people. As far as can be ascertained, this was the first Kriol book that these people had ever seen or heard of. A few days later when in Tennant Creek, a man who had seen Glasgow at Brunette Downs but whom Glasgow had not met, greeted him in the street with, "You saw me at Brunette, didn't you? You speak our language, don't you? You looked at book there and spoke our language real good!"

The identification of Kriol by Aborigines as their language is a relatively new phenomenon. There are some indications that at Ngukurr, where Kriol is spoken as a mother tongue by four generations, its identity as a language in its own right has been slowly forming for several decades. As will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter, however, the lack of a distinctive name in part prevented it from acquiring such status. Until the mid-1970s, "pidgin English" was all it was known as, with Aborigines focusing on the 'English' aspect and Europeans on the 'pidgin' aspect. In many respects, the language situation was analogous to the social situation.

As the next chapter will attempt to show, when government policy in the mid-1960s sifted towards the acceptance of the expression of Aboriginal identity, the door was opened for Kriol to come of age. However, until the language was given the name 'Kriol' a decade later, none of its speakers 'knew' what their language was.

At first it might seem strange that an alien has given the language its name.[98] However, this is the same process by which languages were given names in the past. 'Tribal' labels are often not self-given labels (Kolig n.d.:14). The major difference between the giving of a name or label in the contemporary setting as opposed to the traditional one, is that the name 'Kriol' was given by non-Aborigines and originally mostly used in print.

Just as there is still diversity in interpreting the concept of Aboriginality, so there is diversity in interpreting the concept of Kriol as an Aboriginal language with which its speakers can identify and through which they can express their identity. It would be inaccurate to claim that all aspects of linguistic identity are manifest exclusively in Kriol.

Many Kriol speakers are struggling with the dilemma of sorting out a double identity, recognizing that they speak Kriol as their first language but feeling that a traditional language is their real language. Some of them may have satisfactorily settled the question of their linguistic identities. For others, Kriol is still too young to serve as a symbol of identity. Nevertheless, one may safely conclude that Kriol is well and truly out of the womb and has proved to be Aboriginal, even if its social maturation is still in progress. It is obvious that Kriol is coming of age, but it is probably too soon to claim that it has come of age.

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CHAPTER 4

A CASE HISTORY OF A KRIOL-SPEAKING COMMUNITY

This chapter will take a detailed look at some of the social, political and historical factors which have been relevant to the development of Kriol in one particular Aboriginal community in the Northern Territory — Ngukurr. As was pointed out in chapter two, it was in the Ngukurr area that creolization first took place. As a result, the 'time-base' for Kriol is deeper at Ngukurr than at other Aboriginal communities. As a consequence, the language in the Ngukurr area shows signs of being more developed, and its speakers in general have a greater understanding of the nature and significance of the language. A close look at the Kriol situation at Ngukurr, therefore, may help to give us insights into the direction that development in other Kriol-speaking communities may take.

BACKGROUND

The history of relations between Europeans and Aborigines has been described by Thiele (1982:3)[99] as falling into three broad stages: neglect, direct control and indirect control. The first stage, that of neglect, was the long period of the conquest of the Aboriginal peoples and the gaining of control of their lands by Europeans. Much of this conquest was accomplished through gross brutality. In order to force the Aborigines into submission, the early pioneers freely used violence. Where Aboriginal groups resisted European authority and encroachment upon their lands, not only did the government[100] condone the use of punitive expeditions by settlers, but it also coerced obedience directly through violent acts committed by its police force (Reynolds 1972, Robinson and York 1977, Rowley 1972b:288, Stanner 1969:13).

The conquest of Aboriginal peoples was not, however, totally by force. In some of the remoter parts of Australia, such as Arnhem Land, there were vast tracts of land which were never settled by Europeans and some which were only occupied for a few years by pastoralists in the 1880s and 1890s (Duncan 1967). The conquest of the Aboriginal peoples living in those lands came through the establishment of missions and government settlements. Aborigines were not in general openly forced to live on the settlements, but many of them drifted more or less permanently to them for a variety of reasons. The more they became involved with settlements, the more they became dependent upon the goods and services they offered and were, in a sense, trapped into submission.

Although many people were involved in establishing missions and settlements for philanthropic purposes, they functioned for the most part as agents of social control, attempting to pacify and settle Aborigines and to promote the legitimization of the government and its instrumentalities.

The Stage of Neglect

The conquest of Aboriginal peoples led in many cases to the demoralization of those who survived the violence. The government was then faced with the problem of what to do with the demoralized remnants of Aboriginal civilization (Rowley 1972b, Evans et al 1975). It 'responded' by basically neglecting to even address itself to the problems that dispossession of lands and maltreatment had produced (Stanner 1969:18-29). This neglect of Aborigines is a significant feature of early Australian history (Hasluck 1970:121). The dispossessed were in general economically and politically insignificant to the capitalist development of Australia, although they did provide a cheap source of labour for the pastoral industry, and became dependent upon government handouts or the largesse of various missionary bodies. During the second half of the 1800s and early 1900s, the government instituted "protection" policies to "smooth the dying pillow" of these so-called "stone age people" who were "doomed to pass away" (Elkin 1974:366-367).

The beginning of the end of the stage of neglect came about in the late 1920s when Professor A.P. Elkin and others became convinced that the protectionist policies should be replaced with policies based on the realization that Aborigines may not die out. Largely in response to pressure from an informed public opinion, government policy was changed in 1936 with citizenship being the goal of an assimilation process (Elkin 1974:368-369). The new policy implied the development and welfare of Aborigines as citizens in contrast to the idea of the previous policy of protecting a dying race.

Under the new policy the people were materially 'cared' for, but their traditions, including languages, were neglected and even directly or indirectly suppressed. The implementation of this new policy, however, was interrupted by World War Two. After the war, details of the new welfare system through which the assimilation policy was to be implemented were finalized, with welfare procedures coming into operation in the early 1950s (Hartwig 1976). In conjunction with the disruptions and changes in Aboriginal society brought about by the war, the policy had a very detrimental effect on traditional Aboriginal languages throughout most of North Australia. As was pointed out in chapter two, with the exception of north and northeastern Arnhem Land and a few pockets elsewhere, relatively few Aborigines in North Australia younger than mid-thirty can fluently speak a traditional Aboriginal language. Most of these younger people speak Kriol or Torres Strait Creole as their mother tongue.

The Stage of Direct Control

The implementation of the welfare system under the assimilation policy brought in the second stage of European-Aboriginal relations, that of direct control. During the 1950s the Commonwealth Government began to take an active interest in the running of remote Aboriginal settlements in the Northern Territory (Cole 1975:68-69). Settlements were developed into 'springboard' institutions for the purpose of preparing Aborigines for assimilation (DAA 1974:4, Coombs et al 1980:20). Most government-sponsored activities were directed towards this end, with the traditional Aboriginal economy being further broken down under the pressure from institutionalization, enforced English schooling, cultural domination and manipulation, and economic dependency. Control of Aboriginal activities was direct, with Europeans steering Aboriginal affairs for non-Aboriginal purposes according to the dominant Anglo-Australian legal system and administrative rules. There was little delegation of authority to traditional Aboriginal leaders, although the handing out of small and gradual doses of responsibility was seen as part of the educational process leading to assimilation.

During this period Aborigines became more vocal and politically involved, with many demanding equal rights and having the support of some non-Aboriginal groups (Elkin 1944, Berndt and Berndt 1965, Horner 1974). It was becoming increasingly difficult for the government to neglect Aborigines. In the Northern Territory a new social welfare ordinance in 1964 ended legal discrimination and resulted in the "withdrawal of the whole superstructure of quite rigid controls" (Rowley 1972c:406). The following year the government shifted the emphasis of its policy from one of active contempt for Aboriginal culture to one of toleration and respect, albeit grudging respect. This shift in emphasis was the beginning of a move away from assimilation, which had been directed at the eradication of all vestiges of Aboriginal culture and traits, towards an integration policy which would allow the maintenance of Aboriginal culture and identity in a pluralistic Australian society (Wentworth 1973:12-15). The Referendum of 1967 brought citizenship to Aborigines and they were now 'free' to integrate into the broader Australian society on supposedly equal terms with Europeans. In many respects, however, this 'equal opportunity' was a myth which masked past injustice and the class conscious and racist nature of the society into which Aborigines were supposed to move (Thiele 1982:4).

The planned assimilation of Aborigines into the Anglo-Australian society did not take place. Scholars have given a variety of reasons for this failure, from cultural imcompatibility to the self-perpetuating nature of institutional arrangements and poverty. A factor often overlooked by scholars, according to Thiele (1982:4), is the nature of the wider Australian society, which prevents both mobility off settlements and assimilation. For the remote Aboriginal the alternative to settlement life, in most cases, is to become a worker in an urban area, often underemployed or unemployed. This is an unsatisfactory and traumatic experience even for those Aborigines who are 'well educated' in a European sense (Rowley 1972c, Gilbert 1973, Lippman 1973). In terms of social structure and social psychology, Aborigines are rejected by European society (Thiele 1982:7).

To a degree, remote Aboriginal settlements are situations of class and racial domination by 'remote control' and many Aborigines cannot be said to have personally chosen to live on them (Sandall 1973:3). Until the early 1970s, the only major alternative to living in settlements was to enter the dominant European economy. Partly as an attempt to escape from the institutionalized European control of their lives, many Aborigines in the last decade have established and moved to 'outstations' (Coombs et al 1980:16).

The Stage of Indirect Control

The third and most recent stage of European-Aboriginal relations, that of indirect control, officially came into being with the announcement in December 1972 of the self-determination policy of the then newly elected Australian Labor Party (Cavanagh 1974:12). The ousted Liberal-Country Party had, in fact, been also slowly moving in that direction. In January 1972 the then Prime Minister had stated that the government recognized the rights of individual Aborigines "to effective choice about the degree to which and the pace at which they come to identify themselves" with the wider Australian society, and that the role of the government should increasingly be to enable the Aborigines to achieve their goals by their own efforts (quoted in Coombs 1972:1).

These were important changes in the stated philosophy and objectives of policy and indicated that the Liberal-Country Party was abandoning its policy of integration in favour of allowing Aborigines to lead a life separate from other Australians, although this change was not openly acknowledged (Thiele 1982:5). When the Liberal and National parties were returned to power in 1975, they continued to support a policy somewhat similar to that of the Australian Labor Party, although the label was changed to 'self-management' to reflect new interests now influential in government. Neither political party has acknowledged separate development for Aborigines as a goal, but it is clearly a consequence of the policies of self-determination and self-management (Thiele 1982:5).

These policy changes of the early 1970s have, in essence, only brought policy into line with reality, for the notion of separate development was implied in the establishment of remote Aboriginal settlements (e.g. see Elkin 1944:45).

Implicit in these new policies is an acceptance on the part of the government that the integration of Aborigines, especially those in remote areas, into the wider European-dominated social and economic system is not possible or at least is likely to take a very long time. One of the effects of the new government approach is that the geographic isolation of remote Aborigines can be maintained. The government is reducing the likelihood of large-scale migration to towns and cities by raising physical living standards on settlements, promoting an ideology of self-determination and separate development, and influencing Aborigines to accept that separate development will bring benefits (Thiele 1982:6). Thus the settlements that were originally established to promote assimilation tended to have the opposite longterm effect.

Government Policy and Language Use

The changes in government policy during the last few decades have significantly affected the use of language. The pressure under the assimilation policies was for Aborigines to become, in essence, black-skinned Europeans. This meant that Aboriginal language skills were undesirable, English skills were a prerequisite, and multilingualism was in no way to be encouraged. Increasing involvement on the part of the government in settlements and the enforced schooling of children for the purposes of assimilation, which was often accompanied by dormitory or hostel living conditions, rapidly boosted the rate of traditional language decline and inadvertently encouraged creolization. Kriol was closer to English than traditional languages, and in that respect Kriol represented a move towards the goal of Anglicization. At the same time, however, Kriol was almost universally considered to be a pathological development of English which needed to be eradicated (e.g. see Wurm 1963:4,7). Many Kriol speakers themselves viewed Kriol in this way and saw it as a hindrance to achieving acceptance in the broader non-Aboriginal Australian society.

Under the new policies, however, where an Aboriginal is allowed to stress his Aboriginality if he so desires, it is almost imperative for him to have control of a means of linguistic Aboriginal identification. As was discussed in the previous chapter, for many Aborigines, primarily those who speak Kriol as their mother tongue, Kriol serves that function. Kriol is no longer being seen as a hindrance to becoming a European. Instead, it is being seen as a necessity for linguistically displaying and maintaining one's Aboriginality. As a result, a number of Aborigines are now actively seeking to raise the status and prestige of Kriol as a legitimate Aboriginal language.

Another significant effect the new policies have had on Kriol has been the legitimization of its use in modern sectors of life. In a study of three Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory (Barunga [formerly Bamyili], Oenpelli and Bagot in Darwin) in the late 1960s, Jernudd (1971:19) observed that modern social functions, such as transactions of settlement councils, were more likely to be carried out in Kriol[101] than in English if the non-Aboriginal settlement administrators were not present. The same can be said today for most Kriol-speaking communities, but with one significant difference. The recent changes in government policy have resulted in the replacement of many non-Aboriginal administrators and officers with Aborigines. As a result, there are fewer occasions now than at the time Jernudd did his studies on which standard English or Aboriginal English is used in preference to Kriol in the presence of a non-Aboriginal administrator.

This effect is not restricted to council affairs. Prior to the policy of self-determination, Aboriginal people needed to speak some English in order to make headway at such places as the store, the bank or the hospital. Today, however, since Aborigines are nearly always employed in these jobs, people can get most of their "white man's domain" needs met through their own language (Harris 1982:41).

In order for decreolization to take place, among other conditions, there must be (a) sufficient social mobility to motivate large numbers of creole speakers to modify their speech in the direction of the standard language, (b) a sufficient program of education and other acculturative activities to exert effective pressures from the standard language on the creole, and (c) occupational opportunities which require the use of the standard language so that it exerts real influence on creole speakers (DeCamp 1971a:29, 1971b:351).

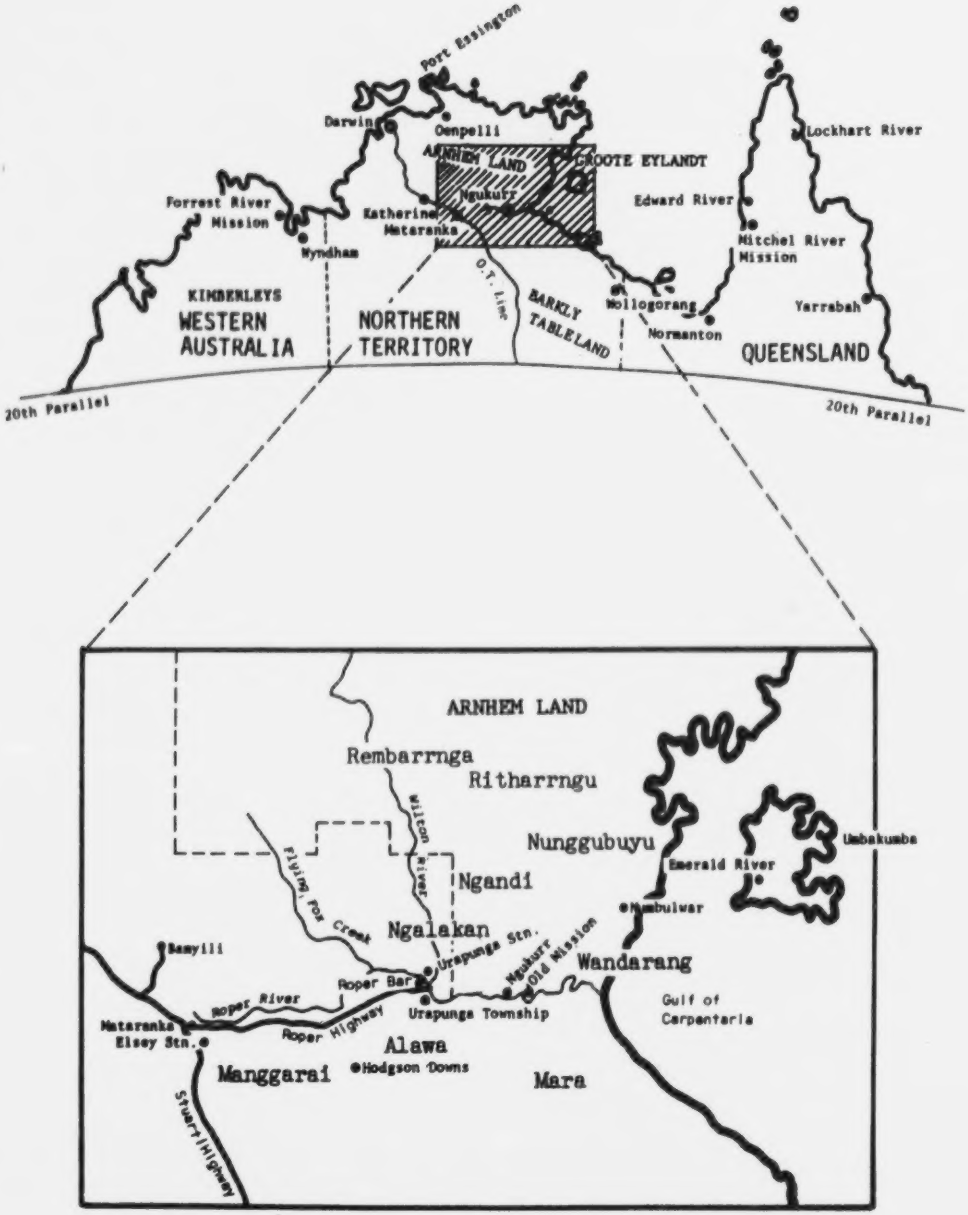
Under the assimilation policies, the pressure was towards developing monolingualism in English. The number of Kriol speakers directly affected, however, was relatively small. Occupational opportunities requiring English were limited, schooling until well into the 1960s for the majority of Kriol speakers was minimal, and it was extremely difficult for Aborigines to move into European-dominated towns with any degree of acceptance by Europeans. Education has improved immensely during the 1970s, but very few of the other acculturative activities are exerting any pressure, let alone 'effective' or 'real' pressure, on Kriol and Kriol speakers. There is a general desire among Aborigines to be able to control English, but under today's self-determination policies the emphasis is on developing bilingualism rather than the English monolingualism of the previous policies.

The move toward Aboriginal control or the 'Aboriginalization' of modern social institutions in Aboriginal communities under present government policies is reinforcing and expanding the use of Kriol and reducing the likelihood of decreolization (Sandefur 1982a, 1982b, 1982c). In the remainder of this chapter I will take a detailed look at the effect government policies, particularly in the last few decades, have had on Kriol in one particular settlement in the Northern Territory.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL CHANGE AT NGUKURR

Ngukurr is a settlement of Aborigines which developed from an Anglican mission, officially known as Roper River Mission, established in 1908 by the Church Missionary Society [colloquially and hereafter referred to as CMS]. The settlement is situated on Aboriginal-owned land[102] just inside

MAP 4 - NORTH AUSTRALIA AND THE *ROPER RIVER DISTRICT*


Port Essington
Darwin
Oenpelli
ARNHEM LAND
GROOTE EYLANDT
Ngukurr
Katherine
Mataranka
Forrest River Mission
Wyndham
KIMBERLEYS
WESTERN AUSTRALIA
NORTHERN TERRITORY
O.T. Line
BARKLY TABLELAND
Wollogorang
Normanton
QUEENSLAND
Lockhart River
Edward River
Mitchel River Mission
Yarrabah
20th Parallel
20th Parallel
ARNHEM LAND
Rembarrnga
Ritharrngu
Wilton River
Flying Fox Creek
Nunggubuyu
Umbakumba
Emerald River
Ngandi
Numbulwar
Ngalakan
Bamyili
Urapunga Stn.
Ngukurr
Old Mission
Wandarang
Roper Bar
Roper River
Urapunga Township
Gulf of Carpentaria
Mataranka
Elsey Stn.
Roper Highway
Alawa
Manggarai
Hodgson Downs
Mara
Stuart Highway

the southeastern border of Arnhem Land. Ngukurr functions essentially as a private town, with access by non-Aboriginal people being restricted.

The Aboriginal population of the settlement has characteristically been variable, changing with the seasonal movements of people. In the past up to fifty percent of the peak, wet season population would move to cattle stations in the region during the dry season. Today the peak population is approximately five hundred, with movement being primarily directed towards a dozen outstations which have developed within a hundred kilometres of Ngukurr since 1977. Up to sixty percent of the peak population may be away from Ngukurr during the dry season. Half the population of Ngukurr is under sixteen years of age. Some twenty basically transient non-Aboriginal people live in the settlement.

Ngukurr is a fairly isolated community. It is located some three hundred kilometres by road, the last third of which is gravel, from its supply centre, Katherine. It is about two hours flying time from Darwin, the nearest major administrative centre. The nearest town, Mataranka, is just over two hundred kilometres away.

The settlement is located on the northern bank of the Roper River twenty-four kilometres downriver from Roper Bar where the highway crosses the river, and a hundred and sixteen kilometres from the mouth of the river. The only road access is impassable in the wet season because it crosses the Roper and Wilton rivers on low causeways. The area immediately around Ngukurr is open savannah of the kind often found in the dry tropics of North Australia. There are, however, large areas of lancewood scrub, salt pans, and ti-tree and paperbark swamps in the region. The area is only marginal country for improved pasture and agriculture, with an average annual rainfall of 725 mm. There are no mining activities in the area.

In physical terms, Ngukurr is somewhat like a small, isolated ordinary town. Although there is always some change taking place in the settlement, it currently [i.e. 1985] has a clinic, a school, a church, a police station, a municipal office block, a mechanics' workshop, a general store, a bank agency, an oval and basketball court, a defunct movie 'theatre', a defunct club house, a power station, an airstrip, a barge landing, a sewerage system, reticulated electricity and water, and some sixty to seventy dwellings on streets mostly laid out to a town development plan. There is a twice weekly air service from Katherine. Telephone service is limited to two semi-private radio-telephones and several outpost radios which connect with the Darwin telephone exchange. Spasmodic satellite television reception was introduced in 1983 and medium wave radio reception is marginal.

The language most commonly used by Aborigines at Ngukurr is Kriol. The second most common would be English. The only traditional Aboriginal language that is actively used by a significant segment of the community is Ritharrngu. Speakers of up to twenty traditional languages, however, can be found at Ngukurr.

The staple foods of most residents are mainly beef, flour, sugar, tea and soft drinks. The preferred clothing tends to be of the stockman style, although many of the younger people prefer more 'mod' styles. The most popular music is country and western, although here again many of the younger people prefer rock. Guitars, including electric guitars and large amplifiers, are by far the most common musical instruments around, and large cassette players are extremely popular. In some respects the Aborigines under thirty years of age, who represent about seventy percent of the resident population, have a lifestyle which is not dissimilar to that of many young Europeans or Aborigines from lower-class areas in Australian towns.

About twenty percent of the residents at Ngukurr are employed to do many of the jobs that are normal for the running of small towns. For example, there are councillors, police, teachers, shop attendants, health workers, hygiene workers, builders, plumbers, mechanics, grader drivers and a minister. Only about thirty percent of the potential Aboriginal work force is employed as compared to almost one hundred percent of the European work force.

What distinguishes Ngukurr from most ordinary towns is the poverty of its inhabitants and the poor standard of many facilities.[103] Although some of the newer houses are of fibro and brick construction, a number of the dwellings are iron shacks. There are relatively few private cars, no roads are sealed or kerbed, and in general maintenance is minimal. Many houses are not equipped with functional stoves, refrigerators or washing machines. The areas inhabited by the twenty or so Europeans on the settlement, however, do not in general show signs of similar poverty.

Ngukurr is an 'artificial' town in the sense that there is virtually no economic activity based on the utilization of local natural resources. There are no mining, fishing or tourist ventures, no agriculture or horticulture and no manufacturing or processing industries, nor is Ngukurr a financial, shopping or administrative centre for the whole Roper River region. Virtually no money is generated locally. The Ngukurr cash economy is primarily dependent on Northern Territory Government finances through the Education, Health, Transport and Works, and Community Development departments, and on Commonwealth finances primarily though Social Security and the Department of Aboriginal Affairs.

Early History

The history of Aboriginal contact with other peoples in the Ngukurr area has been divided by Bern (1974:69) into three periods. The first period, "intermittent interaction involving little if any disruption of the independent on-going organisation of Aboriginal society", extends from initial contact with the Macassans to the construction in 1872 of the Overland Telegraph Line [colloquially and hereafter referred to as the O.T. Line]. The second period, that of "increasing intensity and extent of contact in which relations between the intruders and indigines [sic] are conditioned by basic conflict over living space and the use of resources" (Bern 1974:69), extends from the construction of the O.T. Line to the establishment of Roper River Mission in 1908 and into the 1930s. During this period independent Aboriginal lifestyle on the Roper River was destroyed. The third period, "permanent establishment of Europeans, their domination and the development of dependent Aboriginal communities" (Bern 1974:69), extends from the early 1900s, with considerable overlap with the second period, to the present.

It is not known when and whence the Aborigines first arrived to take up residence in the Northern Territory. The oldest archaeological sites so far investigated are five rock shelters near Oenpelli, some of which have yielded stone tools that date from 20,000 B.C. The oldest archaeological site in Australia is only about 40,000 years old, but much earlier dates than this are being suggested by scholars for the occupation by these first Australians (Powell 1982). Throughout those years there appears to have been several waves of migration and movement of languages. The evidence suggests that the linguistic mosaic pattern which existed when the Europeans first entered Australia would have spanned only a small fraction of the total time that the first Australians had spent in the land, and it is not known when nor how that pattern developed (Powell 1982:13-15).

Today there are nine major traditional languages represented at Ngukurr. These languages are represented by seven major social groups colloquially called "tribes". These seven tribes are referred to locally by seven of the language names. The nine major languages at Ngukurr are members of five Aboriginal language families.[104] The languages in this area tend to be highly divergent from each other (Heath 1981:4). As mentioned earlier, only one of these languages is still spoken by a significant number of residents at Ngukurr.

Ngukurr is located in Yukul country. Very little is known about Yukul, although it is thought by some to have been a language or dialect related to Mara, one of the three languages of the Maran Family. The language is now extinct, if indeed it was a language. Some Ngukurr Aborigines consider Yukul to have been an 'association' of the tribes in the lower Roper River district that was formed before the arrival of Europeans, rather than a specific language group.

The languages of the Maran Family, Mara, Alawa and Wandarang, are prefixing languages and are characterized by extensive use of auxiliary verbs. Only two tribes are normally represented by these languages, Alawa and Mara, with Wandarang people being considered to be part of the Mara tribe. None of these languages is now actively spoken. Heath (1981:7) says about Mara that "had research on this language been delayed for five years or longer it is very unlikely that grammatical or textual material" of high quality could have been obtained, for all of his informants were in their sixties. Wandarang is 'very close' to linguistic extinction, being now known by only two or three people (Merlan 1978:73, Sharpe 1972:1). The number of people who knew Alawa well in the late 1960s was only about thirty, most of whom were living on cattle stations south of the Roper River (Sharpe 1972:vii).

The area west of Ngukurr is Manggarai territory. Manggarai is the only member of the Mangaraian Family. It is a two-gender classifying language with only limited concord. To the northeast is Nunggubuyu, the only member of the Nunggubuyan Family. It is characterized by a highly developed system of noun classification (fifteen classes) and very complex verb structure (seven orders of prefixes and two of suffixes).

To the northwest of Ngukurr is the Gunwingguan Family of languages. Two of the languages from this family, Ngalakan and Ngandi, are represented by major tribes at Ngukurr. Both of these languages are multiple-classifying prefixing languages. There are only about six persons who can fluently speak Ngandi (Heath 1978:3). One other language from this family, Rembarrnga, is also significantly represented at Ngukurr but the Rembarrnga people are usually included with the Ngalakan tribe. Rembarrnga is a non-classifying prefixing language and is spoken by a maximum of two hundred adults (McKay 1975:1), only a few of whom reside at Ngukurr.

To the far north of Ngukurr is the Yolngu Subgroup of the Pama-Nyungan Family of languages. One of the languages of the Yolngu Subgroup, Ritharrngu, is represented as the seventh major tribe at Ngukurr today.

Ritharrngu is spoken by several hundred people, most of whom reside outside the Ngukurr area (Heath 1980a:3). The Pama-Nyungan languages are suffixing languages and are not related to the prefixing languages. Three dialects make up the 'Ritharrngu' language, Ritharrngu, Wagilak and Manggurra. The first two of these dialects are significantly represented at Ngukurr today. The Ritharrngu people are the latecomers to Ngukurr, having first arrived in the 1940s in contrast to the other groups who have been represented at Ngukurr virtually from the year of its establishment as a community.

Before the arrival of Europeans, contact with outsiders was virtually unknown by most of the Aborigines of the Ngukurr area. For two hundred years prior to the arrival of the first Europeans, however, Macassans from the southern Celebes had regularly visited the coast of Arnhem Land in search of Australian trepang (Flinders 1814:172,183, Powell 1982:34-37). Some of the ancestors of the Nunggubuyu, Wandarang and Mara people are likely to have had contact with the Macassans, while relatively few of the ancestors of the other Ngukurr Aborigines would have had direct contact with them, for the trepang industry was limited to the coastal areas and most of the Ngukurr Aborigines come from inland areas.

The period of Macassan contact appears to have had very little influence on the traditional life of the Aborigines in southern Arnhem Land even though a Macassan camping ground was located near the mouth of the Roper River (Searcy 1912:202, Tindale 1925:131). This phase of the history of the Ngukurr area had no direct effect on Kriol, although in one respect it did help set the stage for its arrival (Harris 1984).

Contact with the Macassans resulted in the development of a pidgin variety of the Macassans' language which functioned as a lingua franca between Aborigines of different linguistic groups (Macknight 1972, Urry and Walsh 1981). This 'Macassan' language was used not only among coastal Aboriginal communities, but also between them and some of the inland groups with whom they had contact. As a result, Macassan influences may have affected Aborigines who had never seen or met a real Macassar (Urry and Walsh 1981:98). Thus the mechanism of an Aboriginal lingua franca based on the language of an ethnically different people with whom the Aborigines were in contact was firmly established by the time Europeans arrived.

With the increasing European presence in the Northern Territory from the mid-1800s onwards, a knowledge of English became more important than a knowledge of the Macassan language. As a result, the Macassan language began to rapidly decline, being replaced by (pidgin) English.

The 'invasion'[105] of the Ngukurr area by whites began in 1845 when the exploration party of Ludwig Leichardt passed through the area, the Roper River itself being 'first discovered' by the party's advance scout, John Roper. Leichardt's party came from Queensland and was making for Port Essington on the northwest coast of Arnhem Land. The party crossed the Roper River at what is now called Roper Bar and continued up Flying Fox Creek. Two other exploration expeditions, that of Augustus Charles Gregory in 1856 and John McDouall Stuart in 1862, passed through the upper reaches of the Roper River. These two parties did not come through the immediate Ngukurr area, although they did pass through sections of Manggarai, Alawa and Mara country. The next recorded contact[106] was in 1867 when Frances Cadell made an examination of "the country around the Roper" in a paddle-steamer.

Intensive contact began with the construction of the O.T. Line between Adelaide and Darwin in the early 1870s. George MacLachlan was sent to Leichardt's Bar, as Roper Bar was then called, to survey a site for a supply depot for the O.T. Line in 1870, and late the next year the *Gulnare* arrived with the first load of supplies. The following year a sizeable township developed at the boat landing. The township was regularly serviced by three ships from Darwin, the *Omeo*, the *Larrikeah* and the *Young Australian*. Towards the end of the year as the O.T. Line neared completion, the population of the township was estimated to be three hundred. For a short period of time the township was the largest European population centre in the Northern Territory. The European population of Darwin in 1878 by comparison was less than two hundred and that of the whole of the Northern Territory just over five hundred.

By 1873 most of the O.T. Line construction workers had returned south, but the Ngukurr area never recovered from their presence. It has been amply documented that the pattern of relations between Aborigines and Europeans established by the O.T. Line construction crews was characterised by hostility (Bern 1974, Merlan 1978, and Morphy and Morphy 1981). The region had been opened up, and for the next three decades the government attempted to establish a permanent European presence in the area. When the O.T. Line party left Roper Bar, a small community of Europeans continued to live in the area. A store was built to service the 'overlanders' from Queensland, who were mostly drovers, prospectors and outlaws. Before the establishment of a police station 107
in the district in 1885, Roper Bar had become a 'sanctuary' for the lawless. The hostility between Europeans and Aborigines very quickly turned into savage violence and by the turn of the century had caused extensive and irreparable damage to Aboriginal life and social organization in the area.

Throughout the 1870s and into the 1880s the Roper River valley served as the stock route for the tens of thousands of Queensland cattle which were being driven to the developing north. In 1884 alone it was estimated that 20,000 cattle were in transit along the route. The pattern of relations set by the O.T. Line party continued throughout this period, with Aborigines harassing the drovers and killing the cattle, and with Europeans responding with punitive expeditions. During this time several cattle stations were established in the area, and the township of Urapunga gazetted, although never taken up.

By 1890 the situation was beginning to stabilize. Many Aborigines had been killed during the previous two decades and others had retreated into areas in Arnhem Land where Europeans had not penetrated. Some of the Aborigines, however, had been 'pacified' and remained in the area. They had come to recognize the superiority of European weapons and began to accommodate to the European presence, with the few permanent settlers in the district beginning to 'employ' them.

This relatively peaceful state of coexistence, however, was shattered by the large cattle syndicate, the Eastern and African Cold Storage Company. This company leased the entire eastern half of Arnhem Land comprising some 50,000 square kilometres, and purchased Elsey and Hodgson Downs stations as well as Wollogorang Station further south, thus taking in virtually all of the country belonging to the seven major tribes of Ngukurr. In 1903 the company engaged in what has been described as "probably one of the few authenticated instances in which Aborigines were systematically hunted" (Bauer 1964:157) and without doubt "the most systematic extermination of Aborigines ever carried out on the Roper" (Merlan 1978:87). For a time the company employed two gangs of ten to fourteen Aborigines headed by a European or a part-European to hunt and shoot 'wild blacks' on sight. The company went into liquidation in 1908, the year that CMS established its mission station on the Roper River.

It was in this environment that the process of creolization, which resulted in the development of Kriol, first appears to have taken place. The development and spread of Kriol appears to have been encouraged by the disruption of Aboriginal residence patterns and the reduction of the Aboriginal population consequent on European occupation and development of the region. Some of the language groups became too small to be viable, while the speakers of others became dispersed over a wide area. As a result, the communities which developed around the cattle stations consisted of speakers of several different languages, with Kriol developing as the lingua franca for daily interaction in this multilingual situation. Within a decade of the turn of the century, Kriol was the main language used by school children at Roper River Mission for talking among themselves (Harris 1984).

Old Mission

The second period in the history of the Ngukurr area began with the establishment of the Roper River Mission in August 1908. The mission station was located about six kilometres down river from the present community of Ngukurr. It was destroyed by floods during the wet season of 1939/40 and a new mission station built on the site of the present community. The original mission station and the events associated with it are known as "Old Mission" by the residents of Ngukurr, and the older generation now living at Ngukurr who grew up at Old Mission are referred to as the "Old Mission Mob". This phase of the history of Ngukurr will thus be referred to as 'Old Mission'.

Old Mission was established in the midst of the stage of neglect when Anglo-Australians were supposedly trying to 'smooth the dying pillow' of the dispossessed original Australians. CMS decided to commence mission work among Arnhem Land Aborigines as a result of an appeal by the Bishop of North Queensland to the Australian Church Congress in Melbourne in 1906:

> A previous speaker at this Congress has said that the "British were put by God into Australia to preach the Gospel to the heathen". I have never heard a more complete condemnation of the stewardship of the Australian people. We have developed the country, and we have civilised it, but we have certainly done very little to preach the Gospel to the people we have dispossessed. The blacks have been shot and poisoned while they were wild and dangerous. They are now left to kill themselves with white vices where they have been "tamed"... but very few have received at our hands either justice or consideration (quoted in Cole [1968]:5).

The prime motives for establishing Old Mission were humanitarian and evangelical. From the beginning the mission was to have industrial and agricultural as well as educational and spiritual concerns (Cole [1968]:5). Almost immediately a school and dispensary were started, followed a short time later by agricultural and stock work.

The original party[108] that arrived on the banks of the Roper River to start Old Mission consisted of three missionaries sent from Victoria and three Aboriginal assistants picked up at Yarrabah Mission in Queensland. One of the Aborigines, James Noble, had previously helped start a mission at Mitchell River [Kowanyama] in Queensland and would later help start a mission at Forrest River [Oombulgurri] in Western Australia (Higgins 1981). The Old Mission Mob usually give James Noble the credit for having started Old Mission rather than the Rev. F.L.G. Huthnance, the missionary in charge of the party.

When the missionaries arrived on the Roper in 1908, Kriol, at least as a pidgin, was well established in the area (Harris 1984). The leader of the first Aborigines to come and take up residence at Old Mission was able to speak Kriol (Huthnance 1909a). He had worked as a deck hand on the boats which plied the Roper River, and it is possible that he had learnt Kriol, or at least improved his proficency in speaking it, from doing so. Some of the Old Mission Mob, however, credit James Noble with having brought Kriol with him from Queensland and introducing it to Old Mission. Noble was born near Normanton in 1876. He moved to New South Wales in the late 1880s and from there to Yarrabah in 1896 (Higgins 1981). An Aboriginal English which possibly developed from a Queensland pidgin of the last century (Sharpe 1974a:20) is currently spoken at Yarrabah, so it is possible that Noble arrived on the Roper River with the ability to speak the pidgin of the outback at that time.

As soon as Old Mission was established, many Aborigines moved there from the area round about. Just over a year after its establishment, Huthnance (1909b:8) reported that at the time there were over two hundred Aborigines at the mission, with an average of seventy being there regularly. As a result, the mission staff was able to conduct a school for the children, hold a daily class for adults, and frequently gather the people together for services.

The Aboriginal population fluctuated as Aborigines moved to and from Old Mission unpredictably. The average population of Old Mission, however, remained fairly constant throughout its thirty year history, slowly rising from seventy to a hundred by the early 1940s.

A significant feature of the demography of Old Mission is that in spite of the marked fluctuation in population, there was a small number of Aborigines who lived more or less permanently at Old Mission almost from the time it was established. Some of these were important traditional men. All of them worked closely with the missionaries and were deeply influenced by them. The Old Mission Mob are the remnants of this group, and the descendants of this group form the core group that plays an important role in contemporary Ngukurr society (Bern 1974). The oldest positively identified mother tongue speakers of Kriol are the first generation of the Old Mission Mob children who grew up at the mission station.

Aborigines were attracted to Old Mission for a variety of reasons. By the time Old Mission was established, Aboriginal society in the Roper region was so disrupted that the Aborigines could be considered to have been detribalized. Such a state of social disorganization prompted them to move to Old Mission (Thiele 1982:9). Some of them evidently used Old Mission as a refuge from the violence of the settlers (Bern 1974:80), while others came because they had relatives there or because they sought European food and goods (Thiele 1982:9). In addition, CMS made efforts to attract and settle Aborigines through institutionalization (Cole 1977:182).

Old Mission had a history of staffing difficulties. There were never more than a handful of missionaries in residence at any one time, and most missionaries remained for only a few years, although there were some exceptions. By 1911, for example, the staff had increased to five, but there was only one member left of the original party, R.D. Joynt,[109] who remained for twenty years. Similarly, Rev. H.E. Warren, who arrived in 1913, remained for eighteen years, and Miss E.I.M. Dove remained for twenty-two years.

Old Mission work was extended in 1921 by the establishment of a mission station on Groote Eylandt, and in 1925 at Oenpelli. The mission on Groote Eylandt was established for Roper children of mixed descent in order to segregate them from "unprincipled whites on the mainland, who frequently tried to lure the girls away from the Mission" (Cole 1971:178). The Groote Eylandt mission operated as such until 1933 when the children were transferred back to Old Mission and the work then directed towards the Groote Eylandters themselves. The mission work at Oenpelli was started at the request by the Commonwealth Government that CMS take over an already established pastoral project.

Due in large part to staffing problems, consideration was given to closing down Old Mission in the late 1920s. It was finally decided to continue the mission, however, because the land would probably have been leased by the government to pastoralists "which would mean the beginning of the end of the blacks in that district" (Cole [1968]:12). Shortly afterwards Keith Langford-Smith,[110] the 'Sky Pilot' who was the first to use an aeroplane in the area, arrived to work at Old Mission.

The attitude of missionaries towards Aboriginal culture and the use of Aboriginal languages, and Kriol in particular, varied. CMS missionaries are reputed to have adopted a rigid policy from the start, with Aboriginal culture being negatively valued and the Aborigines encouraged to model their behaviour in all respects fundamentally on that of the missionaries: "they could not change their physical appearance, but they could, and should, change all the rest" (Berndt 1961:23). The degree to which this was true, however, depended on the particular missionaries in question. Langford-Smith, for example, one of the more advanced-thinking early CMS missionaries, wrote[111] in 1932 that he believed three things were absolutely essential to the mission: "(1) A knowledge of the native language (2) A knowledge of his [the Aboriginal's] laws and customs (3) A knowledge of his beliefs, myths, which forms the psychological background which is very real to him."

A new mission constitution and policy, which was accepted in 1944 and in effect until 1962, stated[112] that "all Missionaries shall, in general, study a suitable native language, and native social customs and laws, for it is an essential part of the policy of the Society that the natives shall not be cut off from their own tribal life... Great care must be taken not to adopt a merely negative attitude to things the missionary regards as evil."

This policy was re-emphasized in 1954 when a letter was circularized which stated in part that "the missionaries (should) be informed that the Federal Council expects them to spend time in language study".[113] In practice, however, the policy of studying language and culture was not always carried out, in part due to "busyness and a negative attitude".[114]

In the early 1930s when Langford-Smith first arrived, Kriol was used by some of the missionaries. He commented[115] that "most of the white men spoke pidgin [Kriol], which we picked up from the natives". He also noted that "all instruction was done in English or pidgin [Kriol]", and that "many of [the Aborigines] were obviously unable to grasp the meaning of the English [church] service" (1935:59,57 respectively). In the late 1930s the General Secretary of CMS visited Old Mission, became aware of the communication problem, and advocated the introduction of simpler services and simpler versions of the Bible for both public and private use (Cole [1968]:18).

Some of the missionaries, however, did not look favourably upon Kriol and disciplined those who used it.[116] Others, while also disapproving of Kriol, found that it was necessary to use it if communication was to take place. The minister at the mission during the early 1940s, for example, admitted that while he was against the use of Kriol he found he had to use it in order to communicate.[117]

The official mission policy in 1944 stated[118] that "the use of pidgin English [Kriol] shall be discouraged, and in any region where it is impracticable to base educational work on the use of any one native dialect, English shall be used, and the native trained as far as possible to speak correct English."

It should be pointed out that this policy was in essence simply a reflection of the general milieu at the time. It was generally being advocated that "protectors and missionaries need to know Aboriginal languages... [but] Pidjin-English is quite unsatisfactory..." for it is simply "English perverted and mangled... ridiculous gibberish... childish babbling..." that "is useless for the conveying of any but the most concrete of directions..." (Elkin n.d.:2, Strehlow 1947:xviii, and Elkin 1974[1938]:65 respectively). The language policy of the mission as a whole was much more favorable towards Aboriginal languages than was that of the government, which at that time was one of outright hostility directed towards the complete suppression and eradication not only of pidgin, but even of traditional Aboriginal languages (Wurm 1971b:1034).

Traditional Aboriginal languages were still in active use at Old Mission.[119] In the 1940s there was such a significant number of Nunggubuyu speakers that the minister set about learning the language and translated several books of the Bible into it. These were published by the British and Foreign Bible Society. There was also an influx during the 1940s of Ritharrngu and Balamumu people from northeast Arnhem Land, although a few years later the Balamumu along with the Nunggubuyu people moved out to the newly established mission at Numbulwar.

Old Mission was operated on a pattern similar to that adopted by Europeans on many other remote Aboriginal settlements (Theile 1982:10). One of the main aspects of this was a focus on promoting change on the level of the individual, a strategy put forth in the Bleakley Report of 1929. In discussing this report, Rowley (1972b:330) notes that "the document provided that individual Aborigines would move from Aboriginal to non-Aboriginal society", learning and earning their civil rights in some manner not altogether clearly defined in the document.

Cole ([1968]:28) tries to excuse the lack of attention given by missionaries to the promotion of change at a level other than the individual, by pointing out that sociological development was not the primary aim of CMS. Many missionaries, unfortunately, were not even aware of the social changes which they were inadvertently promoting: "While it was obvious that acculturation was taking place at the material level, the deeper implications of settled life on the social patterns of the Aborigines were not apparent to the Anglican missionaries working in Arnhem Land" (Cole 1977:192).

Prior to the 1950s the missionaries at Roper River Mission kept strict control over all 'modern' activities at the mission (Thiele 1982:11). The Aborigines had no official say in modern sector affairs and little unofficial influence. In the history of the so-called development of the north, Europeans have always been dominant and Aborigines made to feel inferior and not free to voice their opinions or take action on issues. Missionary domination at Old Mission was, however, tempered by benevolence, paternalism and the logistical, financial and staffing problems associated with managing a remote settlement. Old Mission was understaffed, underprovisioned and underequipped, with the staff arguing strongly and often amongst themselves. Nevertheless, they had a very strong impact on the Aborigines, especially the Old Mission Mob and their descendants.

World War Two

The history of the Roper River Mission itself can be divided into two parts, one before the 1950s and one after (Thiele 1982:10). The break between the two, although not abrupt, is very clear. As was mentioned earlier, the original mission station was destroyed in the 1939/40 wet season and rebuilt at a new location. The move to a new location was followed by World War Two, during which mission staff was minimal and normal mission life interrupted. Unlike the interruption of World War One, that of World War Two completely changed CMS activity in Arnhem Land (Cole 1971:180). Life at Roper River Mission never settled back to what it had been.

The interruption of World War Two appears to have had several significant effects on social interaction which had an impact on Kriol.[120] To begin with, the war brought an influx of Europeans into the north greater than ever before, with some 100,000 military personnel coming to the Northern Territory during the war. It was thought that the Japanese would try to isolate the Top End of the Northern Territory by coming up the Roper River and cutting off the Stuart Highway around Mataranka. In anticipation of this, thousands of servicemen were stationed throughout the region, manning lookout points all along the river. Children of mixed descent were evacuated to New South Wales and the mission operated with a skeleton staff (Cole 1979:109). Hundreds of Aborigines were 'employed' around the service camps, many acting as guides for scouting parties and some serving on boats patrolling the waterways.

In addition, a number of special compounds were established by the Army along the Stuart Highway and Aborigines encouraged to 'settle' in them. The focus of these compounds "was overwhelmingly on Army employment, Army rations, Army control as such", with the Aborigines sharing in the routine work of the compound by taking their place in the roster of duties as ordinary members of it (Berndt (1961:19). Many of the Aborigines became trapped into such compounds because of the opportunities they offered for obtaining the European goods to which they had become accustomed. The compounds were established only 'for the duration', but when they were disbanded, most of the Aborigines did not return permanently to their traditional country (Berndt 1961:20).

One of the main effects of the sudden influx of thousands of Europeans was the massive increase in the closeness of Aboriginal-non-Aboriginal contact and the number of Aborigines personally involved in such contact. Before the war, older people were still actively using traditional languages. Traditional languages, however, were of no use for Aboriginal-non-Aboriginal communication, nor was English effective except for a minority of cases. Kriol, which existed throughout much of the region as a lingua franca, therefore functioned as a medium of Aboriginal-non-Aboriginal communication.

Not only did Kriol, however, serve for Aboriginal-non-Aboriginal communication in the new situation, but also for Aboriginal-Aboriginal communication. The compounds were meeting grounds for Aborigines from a diversity of languages and localities. The population of the compounds "covered almost the whole gamut of contact experience, from old Darwin hands and jaded cattle station sophisticates to people associating with Europeans for the first time" (Berndt 1961:20). This situation encouraged the use of Kriol and provided a major impetus for creolization. As was mentioned in chapter two, creolization in the Barunga region appears to have begun with, and primarily as a result of, the establishment of the war compound out of which it developed. In some families at Barunga, the offspring born before the war were born in the bush and speak a traditional language as their mother tongue and Kriol as a second language. Their younger siblings who were born at the compound or settlement that developed from it speak Kriol as their mother tongue.

Another significant effect of the war was that it gave Aborigines a freedom of movement which had never before existed. Relatively few Aborigines moved outside their traditional country before the war. In many respects, the war forced them to travel through strange country and helped many overcome their fear of moving outside familiar regions. The compounds encouraged many Aborigines to make the social adjustments to a new set of relations with members of other tribes, whose languages and customs may have seemed entirely strange, as well as with non-Aboriginal people, on their first step in their journey away from their home area (Berndt 1961:20).

The new freedom of movement brought about by the war enabled many Aborigines to enter into cattle droving. After the war, for example, many Ngukurr Aborigines spent months away from their own country on droving trips, travelling east across the Barkly Tablelands deep into Queensland, or south to the railhead at Alice Springs, or west across the Northern Territory to the meatworks at Wyndham. Such droving continued throughout the 1950s and into the 1960s until roads were opened up and modern transport made droving uneconomical. Extensive droving may account for the knowledge of Kriol by some older Aborigines in communities well outside the Kriol language area, for several such Aborigines have said that they learnt Kriol when they had been 'up north' droving (Sharpe and Sandefur 1976, Sandefur et al 1982, Sharpe 1983 and Glasgow 1984).

It appears, then, that the influx of people during the war accelerated the use of Kriol, and the establishment of new compounds and collections of Aborigines from a variety of language backgrounds brought about additional creolization. The freedom of mobility and movement that the war brought stimulated the convergence of numerous varieties of pidgin and Kriol and increased the amount of inter-Aboriginal group communication that was dependent upon Kriol as a lingua franca. The effects of the war were not limited to the Roper River region but affected virtually the whole of North Australia as evidenced by the fact mentioned in chapter two that relatively few Aborigines born after the war can fluently speak a traditional language.

CMS

A number of factors combined to bring about extensive changes in Roper River Mission around the middle of the present century. In addition to the relocation in 1940 due to the destruction of Old Mission by floods and the interruption and changes brought about by World War Two, there was a complete changeover in staff. By the early 1950s the break with Old Mission was complete. The Aboriginal residents of Ngukurr today generally refer to the pre-war days as Old Mission time, and the 1950s and 1960s up until the mission was turned over to the government as the CMS time. This phase of the history of Ngukurr will thus be referred to as 'CMS'.

The new government assimilation policy and welfare system provided the major impetus for a change in mission policy during the CMS time. In 1947 Professor A.P. Elkin was instrumental in calling a conference of representatives of the various missions in the Northern Territory at which he urged them to help implement the new government plan for the assimilation of Aborigines into the Anglo-Australian way of life. The missions were encouraged to provide work for the Aborigines, pay wages and open shops so they could learn to run their own lives and their own communities within the framework of the missions. The government made promises of larger grants for capital buildings and approved personnel to help the missions carry out such programs.

CMS had few hesitations in backing the government's new approach (Cole [1968]:22-23). As a consequence of these initiatives, the staff at Ngukurr increased, a building program was instituted and CMS concentrated on educating and training Aborigines. By the mid-1950s a shop had been opened, electricity and water were reticulated to the homes of Aborigines and motion pictures were being regularly shown. In 1951 CMS began paying pocket money to Aboriginal workers and over the next few years Ngukurr began to operate on a cash economy, with Aboriginal workers being paid full wages by the end of the 1950s.

The change in government policy, however, had little effect on the overall management of the missions in that the staff continued to see their role as primarily regulatory and retained their paternal orientation (Bern 1974:213). They initiated and managed all modern institutional activities and rewarded or sanctioned Aboriginal behaviour in regard to them (Thiele 1982). CMS could not have easily withdrawn from its position of authority and domination in the community because the Aborigines had become dependent upon mission staff and could not readily have filled the managerial role themselves. Many Aborigines accepted this role of CMS as legitimate and turned to CMS to solve many of the mundane problems they faced in their day-to-day lives on the mission. The Aborigines could, it appears, do little to prevent their domination by CMS in the mission environment, for they not only came from a diversity of tribal backgrounds but their societies and authority structures, as discussed earlier, had been greatly disrupted by European settlement prior to their taking up residence at Ngukurr.

One of the effects the assimilation policy had was to influence Aborigines to stay permanently at Ngukurr. By the late 1950s most had become used to settlement life and had come to see many features of it as desirable, even necessary. About 1955, for the first time, the majority of the Aborigines decided to stay at Ngukurr even over the dry season, primarily as a direct result of having grown their own gardens. In the words of the CMS Superintendent[121] at that time, the Aborigines were "trapped": "When they became more and more involved, they found out they had lost their freedom because there was responsibility they hadn't reckoned on." This 'entrapment' had not been overtly planned.

By the late 1950s the average resident population had risen to 250. The Aborigines had become permanent settlement dwellers unable to move easily back to a traditional way of life. This permanency resulted in a strengthening of the European-oriented activities and beliefs of the Aborigines that had been slowly developing at Ngukurr since 1908 (Theile 1982:12).

The 1960s brought a number of changes which affected the structure and administration of Ngukurr. In 1960 the government started paying social service benefits to Aborigines living on missions and government settlements. However, only a small part of such benefits was actually paid directly to the Aborigines, with the rest going to the mission or government settlement that had the Aborigines under their care. Around 1964 CMS took this a step further and pioneered a new 'experiment'. Some of the social service and welfare benefits and allowances were paid in toto directly to the Aborigines. This was undertaken to encourage the people to assume greater responsibility for their own well-being.

That same year CMS began planning to hand over control of the settlement to the government. CMS wanted to concentrate its resources on pastoral, evangelistic and educational work, with the government having the responsibilities of civil administration and "political and industrial assimilation".[122] The decision to hand over to the government was made primarily because of the increasing difficulty in financing the operational activities of the settlement,[123] brought about in part by having the social service payments going directly to the Aborigines instead of CMS. Such financial difficulties were not unique to the CMS mission at Ngukurr. About the same time as the Ngukurr handover took place, the CMS mission at Umbakumba and Anglican missions at Forrest River, Lockhart River, Edward River and Mitchell River were also handed over.

The sixty-year period of the Church Missionary Society's control had produced profound social changes. By the end of this period the Aborigines at Ngukurr were European-oriented in many ways, yet at the same time they also vigorously retained many traditional social practices and beliefs (Thiele 1982:12).

Government Control

Almost a decade before CMS pulled out of Ngukurr, an attempt to help the Aborigines take control of their own affairs was begun. This attempt was primarily through the establishment of a 'station' council.[124] The council was formally established by CMS in 1962, primarily at the request of the late Silas Roberts, one of the younger members of the Old Mission Mob and later to be a recipient of the Order of Australia Medal.

The station council, which lat[illegible] served as a model to the government when establishing councils at other communities, functioned as a consultative and administrative body for the running and development of the internal affairs of the settlement. It had sixteen members, consisting of the settlement superintendent as the chairman, seven people who were heads of departments, and an equal number of Aborigines elected by the Aboriginal population of the settlement. The agenda of meetings was made known so the Aboriginal members could talk to the other Aborigines about issues, and as a result when they came to the council meeting they usually had their decisions already made according to what the elders in the village had said. Elders were never elected to the council, in part because to be elected implied calling into question the authority they already possessed. Initially the council was composed of eight Europeans and eight Aborigines, but as Aborigines became heads of departments their number increased against the Europeans. This resulted in an automatic phasing of control to Aborigines.

Bern (1977:109) claims that the superintendent, as chairman, determined the structure and course of council meetings, and that the council was not competent to make decisions affecting the organization of the settlement, being limited to making requests to the superintendent and through him to the government. This claim, however, is only partially correct. The council was involved in the total running of the community and was granted much responsibility by the superintendent.

There were three main factors which prevented the council from successfully achieving full autonomy and authority as envisaged by CMS:

Firstly, as the council was a new concept, it took some time for councillors to grasp their role and begin to function. Few Aborigines had a good grasp of the various operational aspects necessary for the running of modern social institutions. None of them, for example, had more than an elementary understanding of the principles of European economics, accounting procedures or business management practices (Thiele 1982:16).

Secondly, the Aborigines had developed no settlement-wide authority structures capable of running the modern activities of the community. This was not a situation that was unique to Ngukurr. Aborigines throughout North Australia have had difficulties in taking control of settlement affairs because of a lack of decision-making authority structures. Some writers argue that Aboriginal decision-making structures were destroyed, while others argue that these structures were not likely to have existed in the first place (Thiele 1982:18). Either way, it is clear that the formation of settlements meant trying to unify heterogeneous and accidental collections of people who usually felt no reciprocal obligations to each other (Stanner 1969:46). This was certainly the case at Ngukurr during the CMS time, for up to twenty-five different groups of Aborigines were represented among a population of only three hundred. There was little cooperation between many of those groups and the chairman had to impose a certain amount of authority on the council and community in order to keep the settlement functioning.

Thirdly, the community had no self-generated finances and was totally dependent upon government funds. The council was unable to administer the funds as they desired because of government restrictions and controls, and as was noted earlier, CMS ultimately had to turn over control of the community to the government because of the lack of funds.

The failure of the council to develop into a self-governing body, in many respects, was due to historical circumstances. Thiele (1982:16) argues that it failed in part because CMS established the council too late, having opposed or neglected similar moves in the past and having deeply entrenched its own dominating and dogmatic management role in Ngukurr affairs.

Leske,[125] on the other hand, maintains that the council could have become self-governing in a few years if CMS had not had to pull out due to lack of finances. When the handover took place, it was reported that

Peter Nixon, the then Minister for the Interior, recognized the freedom the Ngukurr people had developed under CMS direction and said that the Ngukurr people should govern themselves. Unfortunately, however, the government ordinance on settlement regulations made no provision for self-government. The government officers who took control of Ngukurr had to abide by the existing government regulations which did not allow the council to continue developing in the direction it had been heading.

Finally, in October 1968, control of the settlement was turned over to the Welfare Branch of the Northern Territory Administration. Unlike CMS, which had had some sixty years experience in running settlements, the government had only had twenty years experience. The government was impersonal and, unlike CMS, was unable to develop a framework built on personal relations. This was partly due to the high turnover in government staff that is typical on Aboriginal settlements. This high turnover also prevented the continuity and stability in government settlements that was relatively characteristic of the church institutions.

What the Aboriginal residents of Ngukurr thought about the settlement handover is not exactly clear. On the one hand, Thiele (1982:24-25) claims that the Aborigines looked forward to government control, for they believed that it would lead to a considerable improvement in their living conditions in terms of jobs, housing and general facilities. On the other hand, Downing (1971:78) claims that the people spoke out very strongly against government control and requested government financing to enable CMS to continue administering the settlement.

In either case, the government assumed control of the settlement and the Aboriginal residents found themselves dealing with an ill-prepared, and at times reluctant, remote government bureaucracy whose Ngukurr representatives tended to only stay for short periods of time. For a variety of reasons, the government did not begin organizing staff, finance and other resources until after it took control. As a result, Ngukurr remained in a state of disorganization for several years after the handover.

In addition, about the time of the settlement handover, government policy had begun to swing away from enforced assimilation. When the handover took place, the Aborigines were expecting the government to act positively and decisively in filling the role CMS had vacated. The government, however, was no longer prepared to take the responsibilities that such action demanded. Government policy was increasingly favouring the handing over of responsibility for settlement affairs to Aborigines, but, at the same time, details for the implementation of such policy had yet to be formulated. As a result, government action on Ngukurr was characterized by vacillation and procrastination.

In response to dissatisfaction with the situation, the Aborigines called a settlement-wide strike in March 1970. This strike is described in detail by Bern (1976).[126] One point Bern fails to mention, according to Thiele (1982:25), is that the Aborigines were officially offered full control of Ngukurr affairs after the strike was over. While most Aborigines at Ngukurr wanted to take full responsibility for settlement affairs, they had no leaders or organizations with the authority or power to respond on behalf of the Aboriginal community as a whole. As a result, they made no response to the offer of local control.

When the Australian Labor Party came to power in 1972, it adopted a policy of self-determination for Aborigines. This resulted in two major changes at Ngukurr. Over the next few years there was a gradual withdrawal of European staff, both physically and from positions of control. At the same time, a town council, which was essentially a continuation of the CMS station council, began to accumulate both power and authority over the modern institutional affairs of the community. The council took responsibility for many of the positions vacated by Europeans and employed Aborigines to fill them. Europeans who remained worked either directly for the council, filled advisory positions, or worked in the government office at Ngukurr until it was closed. Full official control was not taken until the Commonwealth Government passed the Aboriginal Councils and Associations Act 1976 which enabled councils to become legal entities which could act on behalf of the communities and receive government grants and loans.

The Labor Government also reorganized the Northern Territory Welfare Branch that had taken over control of Ngukurr from CMS, and control of Ngukurr then came under the Commonwealth Department of Aboriginal Affairs [colloquially and hereafter referred to as DAA]. The administration of the Welfare Branch had been very stable, largely due to the fact that the Director, Harry C. Giese, had been in that post for almost twenty years. He regularly visited Aboriginal communities throughout the Northern Territory and personally knew thousands of Aborigines from those communities. DAA was unable to duplicate that stability.

When the Commonwealth Government took over control of Ngukurr, a government administrator was placed in charge of running the community and the council virtually ceased to function. Shortly after the takeover, the new government policies were implemented and the DAA administrator changed roles to become the community advisor. It was to be several years, however, before the change of roles in relation to the council was worked out in practice. The process was hindered to a large degree by a very high turnover of DAA advisors at Ngukurr during the first few years of DAA control, with the new advisor coming in often having different views from those of his predecessor.

The DAA years were characterized, not only by a lack of continuity and stability, but also by a move towards 'departmentalization'. Under the Northern Territory Welfare Branch the Aboriginal community had to deal directly with only one government entity. Under the new Commonwealth rule, however, each department handled its own work. In some situations this resulted in lack of co-ordination and efficency.

At Ngukurr this departmentalization resulted at one stage in the DAA officer in charge preventing equipment and personnel of one department from being used by another department. The lack of co-ordination reached its peak when a DAA-funded council groundsman was no longer allowed to work at the clinic, and the shop was no longer allowed to use the DAA boat to cart supplies in during the wet season. The shop, in turn, sold its boat motor, which resulted in the DAA boat being left to deteriorate as DAA had no motor with which to operate it. Departmentalization is still in effect, with the town council currently having to deal with more than a dozen separate government entities on behalf of the community.

When the Labor Government came to power, it began a substantial construction program at Ngukurr. Over the next few years an administration block, a sixteen bed clinic, four new school classrooms, a new shop, a new airstrip, sewerage works, a new water reticulation system, a new power house, and a number of houses and a block of flats were constructed. This resulted, however, in an influx of Europeans, with much of the new housing being for them. At one stage the European population was over eighty, although many of these Europeans were temporary workers on construction contracts.

The town council gradually increased its control over settlement affairs and resources and by the second half of the 1970s had become the official ruling body of the settlement. The council by that time was all Aboriginal in composition, with the president functioning as both chairman of the council and superintendent of the settlement. Although all members, including the president, are elected by the Aboriginal residents of the community, the constitution requires that each of the seven major tribal groups have a representative on the council.

In some respects, the council is not a very strong organization because of sectional interests and alliances, but it has the basic support of the "Ngukurr Aboriginal society" (Thiele 1982:25). The Aborigines of Ngukurr have developed a strong sense of "Ngukurrness", a community consciousness which has arisen mainly from their shared experiences of life in the settlement and a sense of Aboriginal identity in opposition to European domination. In spite of the lack of a unified decision-making authority structure in the past, this growing feeling of Ngukurrness has resulted in many residents accepting the fact that the council is the only organization capable of controlling the modern institutional activities of Ngukurr on behalf of the community as a whole.

FOUR MODERN SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS AT NGUKURR

Virtually all modern social institutions in Aboriginal communities have their origins in European institutions which were initially 'imposed' upon them. Aborigines were not a settlement society which had to confront a new European social system. Rather, it was individuals who faced change as they became involved in modern settlement activities under the total control of Europeans. As the contribution of their traditional economic activities declined, they became more and more dependent on the modern activities, eventually becoming economically, as well as culturally and socially, locked into the modern settlement economy. To survive, Aborigines could not avoid prolonged and regular participation in that economy. As a result, new patterns of intra-Aboriginal and Aboriginal-non-Aboriginal relations were gradually institutionalized as they became a part of the Aborigines' daily routine and method of earning a living (Thiele 1982:13-14).

These new patterns of social interaction are often opposed to traditional patterns. In some cases the Aborigines have been forced or cajoled into participating in the modern activities which in time became an institutionalized part of their normal day-to-day existence; but in many instances they willingly entered into these non-traditional activities in order to obtain, maintain or develop a position of power in relation to other Aborigines. They began, in many cases, to relate to each other on the basis of their new roles in the modern activities, rather than in ways in accordance with traditional kinship structures.

These new patterns of relations, however, were generally only followed in the European-dominated modern activities. As long as a European was present and in direct control, the Aborigines could interact with each other in non-traditional ways. In the absence of such a European, the sharpness of the dichotomy between the two sets of relations was characteristically blunted, with traditionally expected behaviour towards one's relations overriding and weakening the behaviour 'required' by Europeans of the Aborigines functioning in a modern role. In time, a number of the European social institutions have become legitimized, with many of the modern activities having become, at least partially, Aboriginal. In response to these modern Aboriginal activities, new patterns of Aboriginal relations, which are neither fully European nor traditional but which allow acceptable participation in Aboriginal-dominated modern activities, are becoming institutionalized.

The current generation is the fifth growing up at Ngukurr.[127] Its lifestyle is now structured in large part by the modern social institutions that were established, structured and administered by Europeans.

Originally, the Aboriginal population formed a community within the settlement, which was known colloquially as 'the village'. The settlement administration had little direct interference with the organization of the village. The village was relatively free to organize its internal activities as long as they did not conflict with Australian laws, government ameliorative efforts, or the economic organization of the settlement.

As in other settlements (Jernudd 1971:18), English was the exclusive European-interaction norm. In the early 1970s most modern social functions at Ngukurr demanded the use of English, although individual abilities in speaking English varied widely.

Rapid changes have taken place, however, during the last decade in the sociopolitical and administrative structure of most modern social institutions at Ngukurr. The local administration of some of the major institutions has been handed over to the Aborigines: the church by default in 1972 when the European minister went on leave and officially the following year when the Anglican Church ordained the Aboriginal lay leader; the town council in 1973 when the Ngukurr Township Association was incorporated, but in practice a few years later when the DAA 'administrator' was withdrawn and the president began fully functioning as chief administrator; and the school in 1978 when the Northern Territory Department of Education appointed an Aboriginal principal after protracted negotiations with the community.

These changes have resulted in a lessening of the distinction between village and settlement. Physically this is indicated by the movement of part of the Aboriginal community out of the village into housing in the previously European-only section of the settlement. Politically many residents of the village who previously had little influence upon the running of the settlement are now actively involved in setting and carrying out community policy.

These changes have had two significant effects on the use of language. Firstly, the language which used to be confined primarily to the village [i.e. Kriol] has now been taken into virtually all levels of settlement administration. Secondly, issues which were previously considered to be mainly of European interest and thus discussed in English, are now interpreted to be of Aboriginal interest and discussed in Kriol.

This does not mean, however, that Kriol has totally taken the place of English throughout Ngukurr. Some of the modern social institutions, such as the clinic, are still under ultimate control of a local European administrator. Even though the administrator[128] may respect the fact that English is not an effective medium of communication with a large percentage of the Aboriginal population at Ngukurr and may encourage the use of Kriol by the Aboriginal staff, the mere presence of a non-Kriol-speaking European in an administrative position commands the use of English.

Even those institutions which have been handed over to local Aboriginal control are not independent of European interlocutors and the resultant pressure to use English. All of the major institutions have Europeans involved at various levels of local administration:[129] the town council normally employs several Europeans who function as supervisors in the mechanics' workshop, on housing projects, with bookkeeping and other special projects; the school has a European local education advisor to assist the Aboriginal principal as well as two European primary advisory teachers and a European adult educator; the church has been informally assisted with 'paper work' by a local European while CMS[130] tries to recruit a permanent assistant to the Aboriginal minister.[131]

The pressure to use English exerted by these semi-transient European residents varies, with the attitude of the individual European being the main determinant. On the one extreme are several Europeans who are actively learning Kriol. English is seldom used by Aborigines in communicating with them, even in formal situations. For example, at a formal tea given by the town council for the visiting Northern Territory Government Administrator, Commodore Johnston, comments to one such European[132] were made by Aborigines in Kriol, even within hearing of the Administrator. On the other extreme are Europeans who denigrate Kriol and ridicule those who speak it. In the presence of such Europeans, Kriol is very seldom used. Kriol speakers who cannot speak English refrain if at all possible from speaking to such Europeans.

Another source of potential pressure for the use of English comes from Europeans outside the community. Government control has become less direct, but it has not disappeared altogether, for the government maintains indirect control through its control of settlement finances. Virtually all funds which the town council itself receives for running Ngukurr come from the Northern Territory Department of Community Development. This department can exercise power over the town council by cutting off funds, although it needs ministerial approval to do so. The school remains under ultimate control of the Northern Territory Department of Education in Darwin. Although allowed the normal freedom of operation of all state schools, standards and procedures of the department have to be adhered to. Similarly, the church, although allowed much freedom in the development of Aboriginal means of expression, remains an Anglican church of the Diocese of the Northern Territory and the Aboriginal minister is bound by his ordination vows and required by the canons and constitution of the church to maintain certain structures.

Such outside control does not in itself exert pressure for the use of English within the community, except in the matter of paperwork and in contact with outside departmental officers who make frequent visits to Ngukurr. With relatively few exceptions, such visits demand the use of English. This is rarely stated overtly as it is understood by Kriol speakers as one of their unstated rules of speech usage. Most Europeans are unaware that their visit calls such a rule into operation.

It must be noted, however, that with the rise in the prestige of Kriol and the use of Kriol cassettes and posters by various government departments in recent years, even this rule is not being as strictly adhered to as previously. In addition, there is an increasing number of Europeans who visit the community who are aware of Kriol, although their concepts of Kriol and the communication situation may be inaccurate.[133]

The Ngukurr Town Council

The administrative structural organization of Ngukurr has undergone a number of revisions during the last decade.[134] All local institutions are theoretically under the ultimate control of the town council.[135] In practice, however, some are under town council control, some operate independently, and some are sublet by the council and operate fairly independently. Those in the first group include the outstations, housing association, mechanic workshop and women's club, although the council controls the finance for only the mechanic workshop. The women's club is financed directly from the Northern Territory Department of Community Development, while the outstations and housing association are financed from DAA through the Katherine-based Yulngu Association. The shop has been leased to an outside European entrepreneur, power and water are contracted to a European through the Northern Territory Department of Transport and Works, and a European is employed to run the bank and airlines agencies for the council. The church, the school (including adult education), the police and the clinic operate independently of the town council, although there is liaison between them.

The town council is the largest employer in the community, directly employing up to almost fifty percent of the employed Aboriginal workforce. The council has no means of generating money locally and finances its operations through government grants channelled directly to the council by the Northern Territory Department of Community Development, as mentioned earlier.

Although the council desires to maintain and carry out the modern affairs of the community themselves, there are a number of factors which undermine its ability to do so. One of these factors is an insufficient grasp or a misinterpretation of some of the operational aspects necessary for the running of the modern affairs. Another is the social and cultural dichotomy which exists within the Ngukurr Aboriginal society. Conflict and political power struggles between groups can have a very disruptive effect upon the composition and operation of the council, sometimes resulting in an inability to utilize skills which are available within the community. As a result, to keep the modern affairs of the settlement in operation, the council regularly employs several Europeans who are needed to supply skills, advice and managerial services and to carry out a variety of functions which are necessary but which the Aborigines are unable or unwilling to do themsleves.

During the period of government control, the council functions were strongly under the domain of English. At the same time Kriol had very low prestige. The DAA administrator who became the first community advisor openly despised it. The government school is reputed as recently as 1972 to have abandoned a policy of punishing children who were caught speaking it in school.[136] At a community meeting in 1973, the president of the town council, who claimed to have received such punishment as a school boy, publicly decried Kriol and denied that he and his family spoke it.

At the beginning of the Aboriginalization of modern social institutions, English was the language predominantly used at the formal level of carrying out their functions. Within the chambers of the council hall, Kriol was not to be used. This rule was not necessarily observed between Aboriginal workers, but between Aboriginal worker and European supervisor Kriol was normally not used.

As Aboriginalization has progressed and Aborigines have gained confidence in running their affairs, their feelings of subordination to Europeans has decreased. As Europeans have lost their dominant positions, Aborigines have begun to no longer 'accept' many of the negative social attitudes that have been communicated to them and used to 'keep them in their place'. A few years ago, for example, a comment by the district's Member for the Northern Territory Legislative Assembly about "our Aborigines" would have elicited no overt response from Aborigines. In 1981 such a statement in a letter to a European Ngukurr town council employee brought much ridicule upon the M.L.A. and the employee.[137]

The president of the town council mentioned above who had publicly disclaimed anything to do with Kriol, three or four years later was not only beginning to advocate its use in school and saying that non-Aboriginal council employees should learn it, but he was also calling to task some of the Europeans who openly ridiculed the use of Kriol. Several years later he was observed proclaiming the virtues of Kriol and Kriol literacy to Europeans and talking about having the minutes of council meetings kept in Kriol. As far as can be ascertained there were no Europeans directly encouraging the president to do so.

The Ngukurr School

Unlike the Ngukurr town council which is a relatively recent innovation, the school at Ngukurr was established shortly after the community itself was established by CMS in 1908 and has functioned continuously since. Although little detail is known about the attitude of teachers toward Kriol in the mission school, it appears that reactions varied.

During the CMS time[138] the use of Kriol was allowed in school, for the only way to communicate with the preschool children was with Kriol. At the same time, however, Kriol was the cause of much confusion. New teachers would come to the superintendent and question why the "rubbish stuff" was being used. They would then ask how they could communicate with the children, and the superintendent would tell them to use the children's language!

The confusion Kriol caused stemmed primarily from a misunderstanding of the nature of the language, a misunderstanding that continues in many circles today. A proper understanding of the nature of the language was obscured in part by the lack of a distinctive name. Because it was referred to as "pidgin English", almost everyone classified it as poor English. Kriol speakers themselves tended to overlook the 'pidgin' and focus upon the 'English', thus generally thinking they were speaking standard English. Europeans, on the other hand, would focus upon the 'pidgin' aspect and generally considered it to be degenerate English. For the teachers, the unresolved problem was how to teach in school and at the same time obviate the problem of the two 'Englishes'. This problem continues today in many Aboriginal communities in North Australia, although solutions to the problem have now been proposed as will be discussed in the next chapter.

The Commonwealth Government policy during the CMS time was that Aborigines had to learn English and English had to be used in school. In the playground at Ngukurr, however, the children normally used Kriol. In the school, in spite of the government policy, instructions for 'transition' children were often in Kriol. Transition children were the children coming into the school for the first time, whether younger children at the preschool level or older children from the bush at higher levels. The only way of initially communicating with these children was by using Kriol. It was the only language all the children knew, although some of them also knew a traditional language. Because Kriol was not recognized as a separate language, however, most Europeans thought CMS was treating the Aborigines as inferiors and exposing them to ridicule. It was generally thought that all they could speak was a "bastardized" form of English and that they would therefore always be disadvantaged, which in turn would cause further cultural deprivation.

It was not the European teachers who mostly used Kriol with the children, but rather the Aboriginal 'monitors', as teaching assistants were then called. In 1951 the one European teacher in the school was assisted by up to eight monitors, depending on the number of students. The student population in the early 1950s fluctuated from a low of about thirty during the dry season to a hundred during the wet season, and up to 150 if a group of Nunggubuyu people were in residence. The monitors were Aborigines who had been through school and could supervise a class once the European teacher had outlined a particular exercise. Two of the monitors were skilled enough to devise their own curriculum to a degree. One of them, James Japanma, taught in the mission school for over thirty years. At least twice, once in 1941 and again in 1950, he functioned as head teacher when CMS was unable to provide a European teacher. All of the monitors used English in formal lessons but would use Kriol at other times. If the children did not understand the English, however, they would give an explanation in Kriol. They would often do this, not only when they were supervising the lesson, but also when the European teacher was taking the lesson. When the Nunggubuyu people were in residence at Ngukurr, a monitor would do the same for them, but use Nunggubuyu instead of Kriol.

The Commonwealth Government began to take over control and staffing of the school from CMS a few years before the official handover of the settlement. A government headmaster was sent to manage the school with the CMS teachers, who were then replaced with government teachers as they left. At the time of the transfer there were five European teachers and three Aboriginal teaching assistants (Boekel 1980:6). The teaching assistants, however, were apprehensive about the transfer and did not initially come to work.[139]

Prior to the announcement of the Commonwealth Government's bilingual education policy in late 1972, one of the main functions of the school was to teach English language and culture as an aid to assimilation. In such a climate there was no real place for Kriol. It was generally considered to be a pathological form of English which blocked the acquisition of standard English and therefore needed to be eradicated.

Although English was the only language officially approved of and taught at school, it made very few inroads on Kriol in the village. Most of the older generation who went through school at Old Mission are fluent speakers and readers of English. They persist, however, in using Kriol at home, reserving English for use in the European context. The only way in which English is significantly used in the home is through reading. Prior to 1976 there was no literature available in Kriol, and there is only a very limited amount available today. The relatively few avid readers among the people have had no other recourse than to bring English literature into the village.

The changes in government policies in the early 1970s have resulted, not in more English being brought into the village, but in more Kriol being brought into the school. When the new policies came into effect, there were no qualified Aboriginal teachers in the Northern Territory (Harris 1982:41). Today, however, there are over two dozen and the number is increasing each year.

The new policies have not only resulted in Aborigines becoming teachers, but they have also resulted in Kriol being officially allowed in school. This latter has not been without opposition. At a community meeting at Ngukurr in early 1973 to consider the bilingual education issue, the use of Kriol was opposed by the vast majority of the Aborigines who expressed their opinions. Their desire was to have traditional languages taught to the children. The concept of bilingual education, however, was not clearly understood by most of the Europeans at the meeting, much less by the Aborigines.

Virtually all classroom teaching at Ngukurr in the government school before 1978 was done by Europeans. At that time there were ten European teachers and six Aboriginal teaching assistants, with the latter mostly assisting with menial tasks rather than teaching (Boekel 1980:12). During 1978 the school underwent extensive reorganization following protracted negotiations between the Ngukurr town council and the Northern Territory Department of Education (Boekel 1980). The 'state' school was closed and a 'community' school was established. The community school does not, however, have complete autonomy for it is financially dependent on the Northern Territory Department of Education, and the department has the ultimate power of veto over decisions regarding the school. The Ngukurr town council, speaking on behalf of the community, stipulated that all face-to-face teaching be done by Aboriginal teachers. It also insisted that non-Aboriginal staff be restricted to a maximum of six.

Today the Ngukurr school[140] is unique in the Northern Territory in that virtually all classroom teaching is done by Aborigines (Harris 1982:51). The principal, vice principal and all preschool and primary school teachers are Aborigines. The school has several external outstation 'schools', each with an Aboriginal teacher and no resident Europeans. The non-Aboriginal staff, as pointed out earlier, consists of three advisory teachers and an adult educator.

The changes during the last few years have resulted in Kriol being openly used in school by students and teachers alike, in both informal activities and formal classroom instruction. All curriculum materials are in English and yet most of the teaching is primarily through Kriol. The school does not have an official bilingual program, and this teaching pattern has developed spontaneously (Harris 1982:52).

The use of Kriol and English has not, on the whole, been compartmentalized. There is much switching and mixing of the two codes during lessons. English concepts and words are often explained in Kriol, with instructions and explanations during English reading lessons being in Kriol.

This code-mixing is not limited to schools in Kriol-speaking communities, but affects traditional language communities as well. What should be done about such code-mixing in the classroom is not clear. Educationists are undecided as to what to think about such code-mixing. On the one hand, they would like to be able to recommend that particular subjects be taught in each language at each year level. On the other hand, they are not sure if that is the right approach, how such decisions should be made, nor if their suggestions would be carried out anyway (Harris 1982:41).

One thing is certain: while the theoretical basis for code-mixing in the classroom and resultant prescriptive measures are being contemplated by educationists, the search for Kriol ways of teaching concepts which have previously always been taught in English are being spontaneously pursued by Kriol-speaking Aboriginal teachers.

The Ngukurr Clinic

As with the school, medical work was begun at Ngukurr shortly after Old Mission was established. The present medical service is a Northern Territory Department of Health clinic. Until December 1984 the staffing was under the control of CMS. The staff normally includes two European nursing sisters as well as four to six Aboriginal health workers[141] with various levels of training. There is no resident doctor, although the flying doctor pays a regular fortnightly visit. The Aboriginal health workers have the medical skills necessary for running the clinic themselves. Aboriginalization of local control of the clinic, however, has not yet taken place due in part to problems related to the volume of paperwork required and the maintenance of the physical facilities.[142]

The use of Kriol has long been encouraged in the clinic, due primarily to the vital need for effective communication. During the 1950s two Commonwealth Department of Health doctors, Drs. Raymond and Langsford, used Kriol while at Ngukurr.[143] Unlike doctors today who usually fly out for only a day visit, they often stayed for up to a fortnight, thus immersing themselves in the local language situation.

While there has been a fairly regular turnover of part of the staff, the CMS sister-in-charge until January 1982 had been serving at the clinic since 1968. Her close relationship with the people and appreciation for their language situation has been in large measure what set the tone of the clinic for the acceptance and use of Kriol. This local attitude has been supported by the Department of Health in that it has encouraged the use of Aboriginal languages in health education and has helped in the production of materials in Kriol.[144]

The attitudes of the European staff other than that particular sister-in-charge has varied. Some have been positive or neutral towards Kriol, while others have been negative towards it. Aborigines visiting the clinic read such attitudes and respond accordingly. While sitting in the waiting room or talking to an Aboriginal health worker, Kriol is normally used. When one of the European sisters attends a patient, however, English is usually called upon. The same is true with the doctor's visit. The Aboriginal health workers are also prone to switch to English in the presence of Europeans, especially unfamiliar Europeans.

The Aboriginal health workers are continually undergoing further training, some of which is on-site training by the resident sisters, adult educator or visiting doctor. Much of their training, however, consists of short courses in Darwin or Katherine. Either way, the vast majority of their training is in English. Similar to workers with the council and school, however, the Aboriginal health workers are continually attempting spontaneously to communicate in Kriol the health concepts they learn as part of their training. There is little evidence of an attempt on their part to carry out their medical duties in English, except in the presence of most Europeans.

The Ngukurr Church

For the first sixty years of its existence, the attitude of the church at Ngukurr towards Kriol was interwoven with that of the school and clinic. All three were under the control and direction of European missionaries until the late 1960s. The offical CMS language policy, which was discussed in an earlier section, stated that missionaries were supposed to learn the language of the people.[145] With Kriol the policy was seldom followed through, largely because of the attitude of "What's the sense of learning a pidgin English, and it's only corrupting their English anyway". In spite of this, however, Kriol was often used in relation to the church during the CMS time, just as it had been at Old Mission.

During the 1950s Kriol was generally used in the daily services by different staff in the church. Those who took the time to prepare their lessons in Kriol received a good hearing, whereas everyone else generally did not. Even so, there was a general feeling among Europeans that to use Kriol was 'demeaning' to the Aborigines. Partly because of this, and partly because of the translation which had been done in the early 1940s, CMS initially tried to concentrate on the use of Nunggubuyu. As was noted earlier, however, most of the Nunggubuyu people shifted to the mission at Numbulwar when it was started in 1952. There were several other traditional languages at Ngukurr at that time. In 1954 Gospel Recordings made recordings in some twenty languages, including Kriol. Concerned with communication rather than assimilation, that organization had a high appreciation for all forms of Aboriginal language. That same year, Gerty Huddleston, a local Aboriginal Christian, on her own initiative, translated a passage from the Gospels into Kriol.

During the early 1950s several CMS staff used Kriol in their preaching and teaching in the daily services, having learnt Kriol with the aid of James Japanma. The minister, however, reasoned that the Ritharrngu group could only comprehend Ritharrngu while the others could understand English. As a result, he concentrated on using Ritharrngu instead of Kriol. In the late 1960s a new minister arrived from Sydney. It was openly recognized by then that virtually all of the Aborigines spoke Kriol among themselves, so the new minister, the Rev. D.C. Woodbridge, set about to make himself proficient in the language (Cole [1968]:26). According to Sharpe (1982:44), the people specifically requested Woodbridge to learn Kriol and to preach in it instead of English. With the help of an Aboriginal lay reader, he translated his sermons into Kriol. In the service he preached from the Kriol text, distributing the written English text to those who wanted it as an aid to fostering Bible study and for the benefit of the Europeans in the congregation. Leske,[146] however, who was at Ngukurr throughout most of the 1950s and 1960s, claims that the people had placed no extra demand on this particular minister: "It was generally always implied by the people that they would appreciate things being done in Kriol. It would be much better. It would be more helpful."

CMS had desired for many years to see an 'indigenous ministry' develop at Ngukurr but had not met with success in the early 1950s in pursuading anyone to undertake the studies required for ordination (Cole 1971:181). In the mid-1960s one Aboriginal man completed three years of study towards that end, two years at the Aborigines Inland Mission Bible College at Singleton, New South Wales, and a year at Moore Theological College in Sydney (Cole [1968]:27). He became the catechist in charge at Ngukurr in 1966 but for various reasons did not complete his theological training. In 1972 when the European minister went on leave and was unable to return due to health problems, it was decided that Michael Gumbuli, the Aboriginal lay leader of the church, should be ordained. The following year he was ordained and continues to function as the church's minister. The same year the Summer Institute of Linguistics allocated a linguistic fieldworker[147] to Ngukurr to work with the church on translating the Bible into Kriol, and the first complete translated book was published by the Bible Society in 1981.

The church at Ngukurr is an Anglican church. Throughout its history and continuing still today, formal services follow the English prayer book. All hymns are in English, although a few choruses have been translated into Kriol and are often used in informal services. A few select Kriol choruses started occasionally being used in formal services, especially in funeral services, in 1981.

One of the unwritten rules of the church which is seldom broken is that a person who cannot read cannot preach. This possibly stems in part from the fact that all biblical training in the past has been in English. Leading a formal service has always required the use of the prayer book, which requires a knowledge of English and the ability to read. An illiterate person can, however, be in charge of the overall service.

Although evangelization and informal preaching by Aborigines in the past may have been in Kriol, reference to Scripture has always meant reference to English. The result is a constant switching back and forth between English and Kriol. In addition, concepts which have been learnt in English have not always been fully comprehended. The English phraseology learnt with these concepts is often mixed with Kriol in preaching.

When the Aboriginal minister was first ordained at Ngukurr, formal services tended to follow the prayer book very closely. Prayers and songs were all in English, with much of the sermon being in English. Since his ordination several changes have taken (and are still taking) place. Although the opening unwritten prayer twelve years ago was usually in English, the closing unwritten prayer was often in Kriol. Today most unwritten prayers are in Kriol, although it is not uncommon for the initial prayer in a formal service to be started in English and end in Kriol. Prayers at informal prayer meetings used to be mostly English. Today most of the Aboriginal Christians pray predominantly in Kriol.

The preaching of the Aboriginal minister still exhibits much code-switching and code-mixing.[148] This is typical of other Kriol-speaking Aborigines when preaching.[149] Three major trends have, however, been noticed over the last twelve years at Ngukurr. Firstly, there has been a shift away from a predominance of English to a predominance of Kriol. Secondly, the pressure to use English caused by the presence of Europeans in the congregation has steadily been diminishing to such an extent that their presence today often results in no noticeable code-shift. Thirdly, as the Aboriginal minister's knowledge and understanding of Scripture and biblical concepts have increased, the use of English phraseology to teach these concepts has decreased, being replaced by Kriol expressions.

The Aboriginalization of the church by turning over local control to Aborigines and the resultant spontaneous modernization of Kriol in church-related activities by the Aboriginal minister have influenced speech behaviour of people involved with the church as a whole. Sermons and evangelism by the laity as a whole now tend to be in Kriol. With the assistance of several non-Aboriginal entities[150] and in conjunction with churches in other Kriol-speaking communities, the Ngukurr church is undertaking the translation of Scripture, the creation of songs, the development of Sunday school material and the production of cassettes and video tapes in Kriol.[151] There is also some talk by the Aboriginal Christians at Ngukurr about translating the prayer book so that all services can be in Kriol.

SUMMARY OF THE EFFECT OF ABORIGINALIZATION ON KRIOL

It is generally assumed by creolists that there is a unidimensional flow of variation and change in 'creole communities' around the world towards the standard language of the country in which a particular community happens to be located (Rickford 1980:176). The general assumption in North Australia is that Kriol is rapidly and irreversibly moving in the direction of English, with merger being predicted as early as within one and a half generations (Steffensen 1975:4). There are definite pressures on the Kriol continuum system which encourage movement in the direction of English, but as this and the previous chapter have attempted to show, there are also counter-pressures which favour Kriol and encourage its longevity.

The pressures which favour movement in the direction of English are essentially the same pressures which have long favoured movement away from traditional languages. As will be discussed in the next chapter, Anglo-Australians have a long tradition of an English monolingual mentality which they have consistently tried to impose on Aboriginal-Australians. The imposition of this monolingual tradition became institutionalized in the assimilation policies of the post-war period. The resultant Europeanization has meant a decline in language facility for most Aborigines rather than an extension or development of it (Berndt 1961:25). The multilingualism characteristic of older Aborigines is noticeably lacking in younger Aborigines, for the pressure to assimilate encouraged the development of an English-only linguistic competence. Generally speaking, this pressure, when institutionally applied to speakers of traditional languages in much of North Australia, as was discussed in chapter two, resulted in the acquisition of Kriol by those speakers. The pressure was also applied, however, to speakers of this 'bad English' (i.e. Kriol) in an effort to move them closer to 'proper English'.

Many Kriol speakers have responded to that pressure by 'moving up' to speaking so-called 'proper' English, but as was pointed out in chapter two, with relatively few exceptions they have continued to speak Kriol. The European educational establishment at Ngukurr has been teaching English and in English for over seventy years, or in Aboriginal generational terms, for four generations. Many of the Ngukurr people who have been through that educational system can speak and read English, but all of them also continue to speak Kriol in their home environment. The assimilation policies of the 1950s and 1960s have also failed to 'eradicate' Kriol.

Aboriginal-European relations in Australia have always been characterized by separation and European domination. At Ngukurr there was a dichotomy between the village and the settlement, between traditional and modern activities. The village was an Aboriginal domain, while the settlement was a European domain. The same basic division and domination applied to Kriol and English, both of which have been present at Ngukurr since its establishment in 1908, Kriol in the Aboriginal domain, and English in the European domain. Use of the two languages followed much the same general pattern as the social interaction of Aborigines and Europeans. When Aborigines moved out of the village and into the settlement, they moved from an Aboriginal domain into a European domain. For example, as discussed earlier in this chapter, activities in the European domain often required them to act according to non-traditional patterns of social interaction. It also required them to switch from Kriol to English, at least as regards speaker intent for those who lacked English competence.

The result of assimilation at Ngukurr, following on the heels of forty years of missionizing, was a community of Aborigines who were European-oriented in many of their activities and beliefs, but who had just as obviously maintained many of their traditions. By the early 1970s they had developed a consciousness of community, a feeling of 'Ngukurrness', and in response to European domination, a non-traditional sense of Aboriginality. Kriol, a language which was neither traditional nor European, functioned as an identity marker, being used to indicate the non-traditional group consciousness and the Aboriginal versus non-Aboriginal dichotomy.

As was discussed in chapter three, language is a critical element of group identity even in speakers of low prestige language varieties. By the end of the 1960s, in spite of strenuous efforts on the part of the government, as well as linguists, anthropologists and the general public, the Kriol speakers at Ngukurr were still persistently holding on to their Kriol. With the implementation in the 1970s of new government policies which emphasized Aboriginal identity, the strength of Kriol appears to have been made even more secure. As was shown in the previous chapter, publicly expressed negative attitudes towards Kriol are decreasing and the 'no Kriol to Europeans' rule is showing signs of weakening since Kriol speakers are no longer ashamed of their language.

There is some threat to the continued existence of Kriol from the Aboriginalization of modern social institutions in Aboriginal communities. As was discussed earlier in this chapter, the linguistic result of Aborigines taking over administrative and operational control of modern institutions at Ngukurr is the spontaneous modernization of Kriol. Modernization, among other things, involves spontaneous lexical expansion. As was pointed out earlier, when the station council was first organized at Ngukurr in the early 1960s, one of the major difficulties was the lack of understanding on the part of the Aboriginal council members of aspects of modern activities such as economics and business management practices. It was not simply a matter of Kriol not having terminology for such aspects, but of the concepts themselves being totally outside the range of Aboriginal experience. In virtually every case, the development of an understanding of such concepts by Aborigines has come through the use of English. As the 'elite' Aborigines who now understand these concepts try to teach them to other Aborigines, the danger to Kriol is the possible wholesale introduction of 'pure' English terminology and phraseology. A massive quantity of such wholesale introduction of English phraseology may result in enough significant restructuring so as to force the weakening of the linguistic norms of Kriol and lead eventually to its breakdown.

However, this is only a potential danger, for the spontaneous modernization of Kriol thus far shows few signs of developing in that direction. It appears, at least on the basis of observations at Ngukurr, that a re-analysis of English-learnt concepts takes place over a period of time as they are communicated to the 'non-elite' members of the community. This is possibly due to the fact that the English competence of Ngukurr residents as a whole is not as thorough as it appears to be on the surface. Kriol speakers are very good 'listeners' who characteristically give the impression to English speakers that they understand everything being said, but this is not the case. Except for the everyday, mundane aspects of life, miscommunication through the use of English is very high. The 'elite' members of the community who possess a high degree of English competence find it necessary to express themselves in Kriol for the sake of being understood by 'non-elite' members of the community whose English competence is very sketchy. It is this awareness by 'elite' Aboriginal speakers which contrasts sharply with the practice of European speakers who do not fully realize that they are not being understood and who insist on using English.

Present government policies are reducing the likelihood of large-scale migration of Aborigines to towns and cities. This in turn is reducing the pressure for Europeanization and Anglicization on Aborigines as a whole, although in a sense, by taking over modern administrative and operational responsibilities, a more sophisticated form of Europeanization is being thrust by circumstances on the ruling elite in Aboriginal communities. For the vast majority of Aborigines, however, the Aboriginalization policies are strengthening the social dichotomy between Aboriginal and European. One of the main effects of 'Aboriginalization' on Kriol speakers is the strengthening of the sociolinguistic dichotomy between Kriol and English. For an increasing number of Kriol speakers, their language is no longer bastardized English, nor is it simply creolized English. For many it has become a language in its own right, a language related to English, but a language which is at the same time distinct from English.

CHAPTER 5

THE INSTRUMENTALIZATION OF KRIOL

The role of language can be considered as falling into two major categories (Haugen 1975:288,282). On the one hand, language is used as an expression of personality and a sign of identity; on the other, as an instrument or tool of communication. The role of Kriol in the expression of identity in contemporary Aboriginal society in North Australia was explored in chapter three. Its role as an instrument will be considered here. In particular, this chapter will look at the deliberate enlargement of the functions of Kriol or the ways in which it is used as a tool.

The deliberate enlargement of the functions of a language is a process referred to as 'instrumentalization' (Samarin 1980:223). This process is not directed towards the 'ordinary' uses of language. That is, it is not directed towards the uses of which an individual avails himself during the course of his daily activities. Rather, the aims of language instrumentalization have to do with affecting or improving the life of the society as a whole (Samarin 1980:224). Instrumentalization therefore comprises legislation, education and information.

KRIOL AND LEGISLATION

The major hindrance to the effective instrumentalization of Kriol has, in many respects, stemmed from the lack of an explicit Australian national language policy. It would be incorrect to claim that Australia is entirely without a national language policy, for as was amply pointed out in the previous chapter, it has had a de facto largely English-only language policy. This situation has, however, been changing. In 1982 the Senate Standing Committee on Education and the Arts called for an inquiry into the development and implementation of a coordinated language policy for Australia. As a result, language policy is now firmly on the national agenda. In a paper prepared to stimulate public debate on language policy, the Commonwealth Department of Education (1982:8) noted that

> there may be value in the emergence — or designation — of a national Aboriginal language. This could be an existing language, or a "lingua franca" might be consciously constructed. Aboriginal Kriol spoken by some 10% of the Aboriginal population might represent the basis for such a language, although it might be seen by some to lack the status of the traditional language.

In their submission to the Senate enquiry, the PLANLangPol Committee[152] (1983:87) stated: "Any language planning policy for Aborigines must take into account the existence of these Creoles [i.e. Kriol and Torres Strait Creole] as coherent, productive systems, and operate to take advantage of their presence in education rather than discourage their use on the basis of an imperfect understanding of their nature."

It is expected that Kriol will be accorded official status in the Australian National Language Policy, although the exact form which will constitute that recognition is as of yet unknown. The National Language

Policy should, nevertheless, effectively remove at least some of the departmental barriers which have hindered the instrumentalization of Kriol during the 1970s.

KRIOL AND PRIMARY EDUCATION

As far as can be ascertained, the instrumentalization of Kriol was first officially considered by the government shortly after the Prime Minister announced in December 1972 that the Australian Government would "launch a campaign to have Aboriginal children living in distinctive Aboriginal communities given their primary education in Aboriginal languages".[153] During one of the first meetings on bilingual education in the Northern Territory the following year, a member of the N.T. Department of Education[154] turned to the Director of the Summer Institute of Linguistics[155] and asked, "And what about this pidgin English?"[156]

Sharpe had attempted to gain official recognition for Kriol ten years earlier but had only been successful in bringing about an awareness of its existence (Sharpe and Sandefur 1976:63). Her lack of success is hardly surprising in view of the fact, pointed out in chapter one, that most linguists themselves did not accept creoles as legitimate languages until relatively recently. In the field of Australian Aboriginal languages, it was not until well into the 1970s that creoles gained a general acceptability among Australian linguists, as exemplified by their inclusion in such recent volumes as Dixon (1980) and Blake (1981).[157]

Typology of Education Alternatives

In most creole language situations throughout the world, education policies are seldom chosen by explicit and rational processes (Craig 1977, 1980).[158] Instead, communities tend to drift into policy positions under the force of historical and emotional commitments. Failure to plan explicitly itself implies a policy, albeit an incoherent one, which results in a confusion of high ideals, injustices and superficialities, and which wastes valuable human resources otherwise available to enrich the nation (Ingram 1979:5). Such has been the case not only with officially English-speaking countries where creoles are spoken, but also with those where French and Dutch were the colonizing languages. The situation, however, is beginning to change.

An example of the lack of an explicit language policy is Haiti. Although Haiti has a population that is at least ninety percent monolingual in a creole, schooling has always been in French. After seven years of schooling many young Haitians still find it impossible to express themselves in French. The question of an orthography and standarization of the creole has been considered since the 1940s and for many years the country has had a significant adult literacy program in the creole. There has been Bible translation and religious activity in the creole, dictionaries have been compiled and grammars written, and popular radio and television programs have been produced in the creole. There have been many private efforts by missionary and other bodies to implement primary school programs in the creole. In spite of all this, however, it is only very recently that serious official consideration has been given to the possible use of the creole in the public school system (Craig 1977:320, 1980:246).

Another example is the Seychelles. It was only during the 1970s that the government became "fully aware of the vital importance of adopting a realistic language policy and conscious of the catastrophic results of the pre-independence educational policy" (de Rieux 1980:268). In January 1982 creole became the official teaching medium in the first grade of primary schools with a view to progressively extending it to other grades on a yearly basis. At the same time, creole acquired the status of first national language in the Seychelles, with English and French as second and third national languages.[159]

It is to the credit of the Northern Territory Department of Education that it was, in fact, one of the first in the world to recognize the importance of a creole when it accepted the legitimacy of using Kriol in bilingual education. Admittedly, there was, and still is, considerable doubt in the minds of many educationists concerning the value of using Kriol as the basis of a bilingual program (Spring 1980:21). Some consider Kriol to be a definite hindrance to the education process, and those who dislike bilingual education in general, usually have a particularly strong aversion to Kriol.

The consideration by education authorities of alternative education policies depends to a large extent on recognizing the fact that creole-speaking communities tend to be bilingual or aspire to be so (Craig 1980:246-247). That is to say, it depends on realizing that giving creole a place in the formal education system is not tantamount to accepting a 'bad' form of the national language. In the Australian context this involves reversing the disposition of "white Australians [to] see the difference in Aboriginal behaviour as being deviant forms of their own culture pattern" (Fesl 1981:70).

Widespread acceptance of the fact that a creole is a language distinct from the national language has had to await the development of an understanding of the true nature of creole languages. In creole-speaking areas where English and French are the official languages, that understanding has tended to develop relatively late, whereas in the Dutch West Indies favourable attitudes towards creole developed earlier. More recently the growing awareness of the bilingual status of creole-speaking communities has come from the French-speaking world, building upon general studies of bilingual education in many contexts. In Australia, as was pointed out in chapter two, awareness of the creole situation has only developed during the last decade, building upon the studies of Aboriginal English carried out during the 1960s and early 1970s.

The education policy alternatives now recognized as being available in creole language situations can be viewed through a typology of six models of bilingual education based on language use and language function (Fishman and Lovas 1970, Craig 1977, 1980):

> (1) Monolingualism in school in the dominant language, in which the home language (i.e. creole) of the child is completely ignored.[160]
>
> (2) Transitional bilingualism, in which the home language of the child is used in school only to the extent necessary to allow the child to adjust to school while learning enough of the school language to permit the school language to become the medium of education.
>
> (3) Monoliterate bilingualism, in which both languages are developed for aural-oral skills, but literacy is introduced only in the one language that happens to be socially dominant in the community.

(4) Partial bilingualism, in which aural-oral fluency and literacy are developed in the home language only in relation to certain types of subject matter that have to do with the immediate society and culture, while aural-oral fluency and literacy in the school language are developed for a wider range of purposes.

(5) Full bilingualism, in which the educational aim is for the child to develop all skills in both languages in all domains.

(6) Monolingualism in the home language, in which the aim of the school is to develop literacy only in the home language of the child.[161]

There are a number of factors relating to the nature of the creole bilingual context which must be taken into account when considering the use of creole in education (Craig 1977). These factors fall into two sets, the first of which has to do with the structural relationship between the creole and the national or dominant language, and the second with creole speakers' attitudes toward the two language forms.

Creole languages exist in two broad types of sociolinguistic situations. The first is where one of the base languages of the creole is the official language of the country. In the other type of situation the creole has no formal linguistic relationship with the official language. Of the eighty creole language areas listed by Hancock (1971), over sixty represent the first type of sociolinguistic situation, Kriol included. Creoles of the second type are more clearly seen as distinct from the official language, and as a result, the bilingual nature of the situation is more easily recognizable. Attitudes toward such creoles tend to be similar to those expressed toward foreign languages in general.

Creoles of the first type, in contrast, are often not perceived as being distinct from the official language. As was pointed out in the last chapter, this is the crux of the language 'problem' in schools in Kriol-speaking communities. This 'problem' is due in large part to the continuum nature of the relationship that characteristically develops between the two languages. As a result, the bilingual nature of the language situation may not be recognized, with the creole often being treated as a deficient form of the standard language. Craig (1977:314) points out that a 'continuum creole' situation, although not necessarily exactly what one would call 'bilingual', "is in any event 'biloquial', since the creole-influenced speech form retains its own rules and remains sufficiently distinct from the standard language to be accorded a separate status. Consequently, most of the characteristics of a bilingual situation would still be found to apply here."

The sociopolitical history of creole language situations has usually resulted in the creole being assigned a much lower value than the other language. As was amply documented in chapter three, this has certainly been true with Kriol. This attitude is due in part to the fact that most creoles developed out of a language situation of the enslavement or colonization of people who continue to live in depressed and low social status conditions. It is also determined in part by the lack of utilitarian value in most creoles for literate activities at national and international levels. Such factors must be taken into consideration when considering the use of creole in education as they affect the nature of the bilingual context in which formal education is supposed to take place.

Monolingualism in the Dominant Language

The first educational alternative available in creole language situations, that of using only the dominant language in school, is the one which school systems have traditionally tended to adopt. This alternative is actually outside the sphere of bilingualism altogether. The motivation for the adoption of this alternative tends not to be a carefully thought out educational rationale, but the low valuation of the creole language. In such situations the creole is rarely accorded the status of being a discrete language. This is particularly the case with creoles which exist side by side with their socially dominant base language.

The education policy in North Australia, until 1972, was one of monolingualism in English. Kriol was officially ignored, in practice often actively discouraged, with the hopes that it would disappear. This policy was not unique to Kriol but was applied to traditional Aboriginal languages as well. Unlike the traditional Aboriginal languages, however, Kriol was not recognized as being a discrete language and was considered to be a highly stigmatized and deficient form of speech. Officially this policy of English-only is no longer in effect. In practice, however, many schools which cater for Kriol-speaking children continue to operate with an English-only program that does not give recognition to the children's own language. Some schools even continue to impose a ban on the use of Kriol by the children while at school, with teachers ridiculing those who speak it.

Such an English monolingual alternative is contrary to our present day understanding of cognitive development and the education process, and can be questioned from the point of view of its effect on cognitive development. It has been argued (Eichorn and Jones 1952, Anastasi and Cordova 1953) that adverse cognitive effects are suffered by children who grow up in communities where the language of the school is not that of the home and normal development of the home language is restricted. Whether or not a child actually suffers adverse cognitive effects in such a situation might be debatable (Lambert and Tucker 1972). However, there is little doubt that a strong first language provides a good cognitive base for second language learning and for ethnic minorities a good sociological and attitudinal springboard as well (Lambert 1979).

An additional factor must be taken into account in regard to a monolingual school program in a creole language context. In most situations the avoidance of creole in school reflects and reinforces the stigma that has traditionally been placed on it. Creole speech becomes regarded as synonymous with backwardness and lack of intelligence. Creole speakers learn to be fearful of possibly incurring ridicule by venturing to speak in non-casual situations. This is clearly the case in areas such as the Caribbean (Craig 1980:249) as well as Australia.

The strongest support for school monolingualism in the dominant language can sometimes come from the creole speakers themselves. Craig (1980:250) and Todd (1974:86) claim that creole speakers reject the use of creole in favour of the dominant language because they are acutely aware of the advantages of possessing an internationally accepted language in reaching their aspirations of moving 'upwards' in their social environment. De Rieux (1980:269), on the other hand, argues that creole speakers' rejection of the use of creole in school "is not surprising and stems from the fact that in pre-independence situations linguistic imperialism was so strong that generations have been brainwashed into thinking that creoles were not only useless, but a handicap to economic development and social mobility".

A model of monolingualism in the dominant language is likely to be selected by education policy makers if no significant recognition or value is given to the home language and (sub)culture of the creole-speaking community. In order for such a policy to persist with stability, it appears that there has to be a consistent low socio-cultural valuation of the creole. If there is a high level of mutual intelligibility between the creole and the dominant language, then such education policies would tend to be maintained by all parties.

If, however, the attitude of policy makers towards the home language changes, then the persistence of a monolingual policy is also likely to change. Once the Commonwealth Department of Education accepted the concept of bilingual education using the mother tongue of the children, the department in essence had no choice but to give consideration to Kriol. In their report to the Northern Territory Department of Education, for example, O'Grady and Hale (1974:17) clearly pointed out that "this principle applies no less in the case of a child whose language is creole" and therefore recommended that Kriol be used "in early education in communities where children speak it as their first language".

For the implementation of a change in policy, it appears to be necessary for creole-speaking communities to exert considerable pressure on the policy makers, for they tend to take few initiatives in that direction themselves. The Northern Territory Department of Education, for example, claims that its "concern is to identify and prepare other schools serving the same language group that already have a bilingual program and to which bilingual education could be extended..." (McGill 1980:46). The department to date, however, has only fully recognized three Kriol-speaking communities in the Northern Territory (i.e. Barunga [formerly Bamyili], Ngukurr and Beswick) (Harris 1982:45). Of these three, only Barunga has an operational Kriol bilingual program.[162] Ngukurr received departmental approval for a bilingual program in 1974, but the program never became operational, largely due to the lack of interest on the part of the non-Aboriginal school staff and an associated lack of organization.[163] In situations where the attitude of the policy makers towards the home language remains negative, as has been largely the case with regard to state schools in Western Australia, the wishes of the creole-speaking community for a change in policy are likely to go unheeded.

Transitional Bilingualism

The second alternative, transitional bilingualism, appears very close in nature to the first. In schools in which the teachers are themselves bilingual in creole and the dominant language, it is virtually impossible to prevent an intended monolingual dominant language program from informally becoming one of transitional bilingualism at least at the infant level. With young children creole is the easiest and most spontaneous vehicle for two-way communication between teacher and child in such situations. Even if the school system prohibits the use of the creole, when the teachers and children possess the creole in common, it is very unlikely that they will avoid it altogether. In such situations teachers remain unaware of the extent to which they themselves unconsciously resort to the creole language, and it is only to covert observers that their creole discourse tendencies are fully revealed (Craig 1980:251).

The crucial difference between a monolingualism and a transitional bilingualism model of education is that the latter recognizes the linguistic autonomy of the child's home background. This recognition does not go so far as to oblige the education system to develop any aspect of the child's personality, including language, strictly in relation to that home background, but it at least acknowledges that the child belongs to a language-culture which is different from the one aimed at by the education system. This model is a step in a positive direction because of the latter fact, but it does not go far enough so as to build on pre-school experience rather than discard it.

Many schools in Kriol-speaking communities could be classified as operating de facto transitional bilingual programs. Such schools recognize the children's speech as being different from Standard Australian English, although not necessarily discrete from Standard Australian English, and take that into account. They do not, however, actively develop the Aboriginal child's personality in relation to his Kriol language-culture home background. It should be noted that these schools are operating purely de facto bilingual programs. Such programs are not well organized or properly staffed and tend to be 'implemented' through force of circumstances (e.g. the need to communicate somehow with younger children who control virtually no English, the presence of Kriol-speaking teachers in the classroom, or the desire to implement a formal program without being able to do so due to lack of materials, staff or official approval).

While the first model of monolingualism can be imposed on any linguistic situation, this second model requires the existence at least of an intelligibility gap between the two languages. In order for the policy implementing the second model to remain stable, the social recognition and valuation of the creole needs to remain low. If this recognition and valuation of creole is naturally high or becomes so through socio-political and other pressure, then the model would exhibit a tendency to change, at least informally.

The main difference between the transitional model and the third model, that of monoliterate bilingualism, is related to the duration and continuation of creole language communication between teachers and children. At Ngukurr, for example, where virtually all classroom teaching is done by Kriol-speaking Aborigines (Harris 1982:51-52), the school practice, although not official policy, has spontaneously developed into monoliterate bilingualism. This situation is related to that of most outstation schools: "although not officially bilingual, a realistic assessment of outstation education accepts that the medium of instruction in many schools must be the local Aboriginal language" (Sims 1981:39). This is due primarily to the fact that outstation teachers are usually Aborigines.

Monoliterate Bilingualism

The third alternative, monoliterate bilingualism, ensures some continued development in school of the home language-culture. This model requires that aural-oral skills in creole be developed concurrently with skills in the dominant language. This represents not merely tolerance of creole, as does the second model, but a positive commitment on the part of the education system to provide a school curriculum, although only an oral one, in creole with a content that is relevant to the cultural background of the language and its speakers. Within this model the problem of a possibly harmful break between the child's home background and his early experience of the wider world through school, which constitutes a potentially serious disadvantage of the preceding models, does not occur. One of the possible disadvantages this model shares with the preceding models, is that by keeping the creole language as an oral language only, it would always remain subordinate in status to the other language.

It is normally taken for granted that teachers in a school have full fluency, both oral and literate, in the dominant language of the school. If they also possess, or can easily acquire, aural-oral abilities in the creole, then a change from one or the other of the first two models to a monoliterate bilingualism model is possible, provided certain socio-economic and cultural pressures (e.g. pressure for a higher valuation of the creole) are also present. In order for a monoliterate bilingual program to achieve stability, there needs to be an acceptance by the creole-speaking community that literacy in the creole is not a necessity and that its absence in no way devalues the creole.

Craig (1980:258-259) considers a model of monoliterate bilingualism to possibly be the best compromise despite the disadvantage of potentially encouraging a lower status for the creole through lack of a literature. The main reasons for compromising and implementing a monoliterate policy, in contrast to a biliterate policy, are that it avoids the problems of standardization of the creole and saves considerable economic costs by eliminating the need to develop reading materials and school texts in the creole. Todd (1974:83-86) agrees with Craig, adding the claim that the spelling conventions of a creole "will inevitably clash" with those of the dominant language and may interfere with the "more useful conventions" of the dominant language, thus limiting literacy to the creole. Todd provides no documentation for her claims, and in view of the widespread biliteracy in pidgin or creole and the national language in countries such as Papua New Guinea, her argument is of doubtful validity. The experience of Kriol-speakers, although it has yet to be documented formally, also calls into question the validity of Todd's argument.

When permission was granted by the Department of Education in the Northern Territory for the Barunga school to implement a Kriol bilingual program, it was initially for an oral program only. It had been recognized that while there were "strong arguments" in favour of Kriol literacy, there were also "many problems" associated with a biliterate approach (O'Grady and Hale 1974). In a report to the department, Sharpe (1974a:19) identified five basic problem areas which were potential hindrances to the implementation of literacy in Kriol: (1) the problem of defining what is Kriol and what is English; (2) the difficulty of choosing an orthography; (3) the emotionally charged attitudes of many Europeans and some Aborigines who regard Kriol as inferior and a language to be despised; (4) the twin problem of dialectal differences among Kriol speakers and the need for one set of materials to be useful in as wide an area as possible; and (5) the problem of areas where Kriol lacks vocabulary or concepts available in English and sometimes also in Aboriginal languages. Further study was made of these problem areas, and it was decided that they would not be insurmountable, as indeed Meehan (1981) shows they were not, and permission was therefore granted for the full implementation of a bilingual/biliterate program at Barunga in 1977.

The experience of the Northern Territory Department of Education in bilingual education in general indicates (Harris 1982:26) that a monoliterate program[164] is not necessarily easier and more economical to implement than a program in which literacy is developed in the minority language. It was originally thought that monoliterate bilingual programs would be relatively easy to implement, but no such programs have yet been properly established. The department has learnt that it requires almost as much specialist staff to mount a well planned monoliterate program as it does to mount a biliterate program. In addition, because a monoliterate program lacks the use of printed materials which 'real' bilingual education seems to symbolically require, such a program does not seem to inspire the same support from Aboriginal people as biliterate programs do. In the Australian Aboriginal context, the fourth alternative would therefore appear to be best.

Partial Bilingualism

Within the fourth model, partial bilingualism, the creole assumes a position of near equality with the other language, in so far as it would be both an oral and a written language. Within this model, however, it is envisaged that the usage domains of the creole would remain tied, as they naturally tend to be, to the immediate society and culture. This means that the other and still dominant language would, if required, cover many of the same domains as the creole, but would in addition have a range of wider usages that go beyond contact with the immediate society and culture. This model takes it for granted that there would be a phased introduction of the socially dominant language in school and that the earlier education of the child would begin in the home language, with the latter being the first language of literacy. One such program, at Barunga,[165] has been implemented for Kriol.[166]

The partial bilingualism model can be implemented with two different aims in mind. On the one hand, the creole can be used merely as a bridge into the national or dominant language. Literacy skills (and other concepts) are easier for a child to acquire in the language with which he is thoroughly acquainted (i.e. his own first language). Once these skills have been acquired, they can relatively easily be tranferred or extended to other languages the child may learn. The development of materials and use of a creole in a partial bilingualism program, then, may be seen primarily as an aid to transfer to the national language. This approach is essentially the same as the transitional bilingualism model except that literacy in the creole for a very limited period has been added. One of the disadvantages of this approach, as with monoliterate bilingualism, is that the creole is likely to be viewed as subordinate in status to the dominant language and possibly be considered to be a reflection of the supposed cultural and linguistic deprivation of its speakers.

The other perspective on the implementation of a partial bilingualism program is that of language maintenance. This does not mean that the primary aim of such a program is merely to revive or ensure the survival of the minority language. Rather, it refers to the use of both the home language (i.e. creole) and the national language through all levels of schooling in contrast to using the creole only as a means of initial literacy. In order to maintain both languages there needs to be a separation of function or separate language domains (cf. Harris 1982). Fishman (1980) emphasises that if there is functional overlap between two languages, one of them will become redundant. This redundancy in turn contributes to language decline. The problem of domain separation is a very complex issue, and there are still many unanswered questions relating to it.

Domain separation has not yet been a serious problem in the Northern Territory bilingual programs, although a number of factors are beginning to cause problems in this area. Those discussed by Harris (1982) are related to the Aboriginalization which has been taking place since the introduction of the self-determination policy in 1973. In the Northern Territory programs, including the Kriol program at Barunga, European teachers have basically taught non-Aboriginal content in English, while Aboriginal teachers have taught reading, beginning maths and some social studies in the Aboriginal language. English curriculum materials have not in general been translated into Aboriginal languages, Kriol included, on the grounds that it is educationally unnecessary and functionally unwise, in addition to being too big a task anyway. Most effort to date has gone into reading schemes[167] and the oral use of language in the early childhood program. Work is beginning to be done in the development of curriculum in language based on Aboriginal knowledge. Ideal domain separation could possibly be maintained by having non-Aboriginal concepts taught through an English-based curriculum by European teachers and Aboriginal knowledge taught through a language-based curriculum by Aboriginal teachers. In order to fully develop the self-concept of the Aboriginal child in the context of the Aboriginal society of which he is a part, a maintenance-type partial bilingualism model with emphasis on domain separation would appear to be the best alternative.

For a creole to function within a stable partial bilingualism model, it is generally considered that the structure and orthography of the creole would need to be standardized for the creation of a body of literacy materials. The standardization of a creole language over a whole given area is often more difficult than it would seem at first glance (Craig 1977). Many creole language areas consist of a series of relatively small and traditionally self-contained communities or regions which have developed their own peculiarities of phonology, grammar and vocabulary within the system of the general creole. The community or regional differences or dialects are often associated with particular attitudes and prejudices. As was discussed in chapter two, this is certainly true for Kriol. Any attempt at standardization has to take into account the linguistic variation as well as the attitudes and identifications of the speakers. It is not uncommon for Kriol literates involved in discussions on standardization to insist that the way they speak and write Kriol in their community is the right way because it is their language, and that they do not want to change their spelling conventions to make allowances for other dialects.

It is, of course, possible to avoid the problems of standardization by avoiding standardization itself and taking the dialect of each community where an education program is to be implemented and using the creole as it is in each of those communities (Craig 1977). One of the problems of this approach is that the production of separate education materials for each relatively small group of students usually proves uneconomical. A more serious consequence of such a solution is that it promotes linguistic fragmentation. Where the intention of the education program is for creole literacy to function only as a bridge into literacy in the national language, linguistic fragmentation is of little consequence. If the intention is, however, for the development and maintanence of the home language, then at least a degree of standardization of the writing system and literacy materials is essential.

Full Bilingualism

The fifth model, full bilingualism, in the full sense that Craig (1980) uses the term, is only theoretically possible for a creole. For full bilingualism, complete parity of functions for the creole and other language would be assumed. In the broadest sense this would include status as an international language. Because no creole has such international status, the full bilingualism model cannot be realized with a creole. As a minority language, there is a natural limitation on the domains which may be served by a creole. This natural limitation would have to be removed and the creole would need to gain international status in order for full bilingualism in the broadest sense to be applicable. It is difficult to see how such status could be of benefit to the creole speakers, at least in a situation similar to Australia. There are, of course, no full bilingual programs, in terms of Craig's definition, in operation using Kriol.

Monolingualism in the Home Language

The sixth model, monolingualism in the home language, which is actually outside the sphere of bilingualism altogether, could only be consciously implemented in the creole language context under two sets of circumstances (Craig 1980:261). The first is that the vast majority of the country's population is already monolingual, or nearly so, in the home language. The second set of circumstances is that the government is in the position to politically overcome the obstacles of making a break away from the past which is codified in the other and historically dominant language. It is unlikely that this model would be officially implemented for any of the eighty or so creole languages in the world. It is certain that no such programs in Australia using Kriol would ever receive official recognition if they did come into existence. The only feasible context in which a monolingual Kriol school program could come into being would be an outstation community which had a viable adult Kriol literacy program, set up its own totally independent school, and rejected any literacy in English. Such a situation may be theoretically feasible, but very unlikely.

Kriol Bilingual Programs

The only school in the two hundred and fifty or so Aboriginal communities throughout the Kriol language area (not all of which have schools) with an officially recognized and well organized Kriol bilingual program, as mentioned above, is the school at Barunga. There is also the de facto monoliterate bilingual program mentioned earlier at Ngukurr. As was discussed in the last chapter, the school at Ngukurr went through a reorganization in 1978 which eliminated most of the non-Aboriginal staff. Since the reorganization the school has not established an explicit language policy and hence does not yet have an official program in operation.

Several other schools have given consideration to the use of Kriol in their programs. In addition, some teachers at a number of schools have dabbled in Kriol literacy, mostly with children in the upper grades. This has happened at various times in at least six schools in the Kimberleys, three in the Northern Territory and one in Queensland. A number of other teachers have expressed an openness to the use of Kriol in school (e.g. Glasgow 1984:134), but have taken no initiatives in pursuing the matter further.

Several of the schools which have given consideration during the last few years to implementing formal monoliterate bilingual or partial Kriol bilingual programs, have decided against establishing such programs, at least for the time being, for a variety of reasons. One school in Queensland (at Doomadgee) decided that a Kriol bilingual program would not be applicable to the school largely because there is insufficient data presently available to positively identify the children's speech as being Kriol.[168] It appears that their speech is a variety of Aboriginal English rather than Kriol.

In the Kimberleys, teachers in a number of communities have expressed interest in Kriol bilingual programs for their schools. In general it is the younger teachers who have had some Aboriginal studies included in their teacher training who are in favour of such programs. The Western Australian Department of Education, however, does not encourage bilingual programs and most regional officers have not been in favour of them. As a result, no Western Australian state schools have given formal consideration to Kriol bilingual programs, and it appears at this stage that there is very little possibility that such schools could obtain official permission to implement any form of Kriol bilingual program.

Among Catholic and independent community schools in Western Australia, however, the situation is more positive towards the potential for implementing Kriol bilingual programs. Two independent community schools have given consideration to a Kriol program. One of these schools (at Noonkanbah) has decided not to implement such a program, although it was realized that it would be immediately applicable to the educational situation. The main reason for the decision was that the community preferred that the traditional language, which they see as threatened, be used so as to reinforce the language, as well as culture. The school is therefore heavily involved in a traditional language revival program (Richards 1982a, 1982b) and a formal Kriol program is felt to be inappropriate, at least for the time being. The other independent school (at Yiyili) implemented a 'trilingual' program in 1983 in which Kriol, English and the traditional language are utilized.[169]

One Catholic community school in the Kimberleys (at Turkey Creek) ran an informal partial bilingual program for a year or so. For several years the school had been running a traditional language revival program that included literacy in the language (McConvell 1980). The traditional language program continued, so the school was running a trilingual program, or what was locally being referred to as a "3-way school", using Kriol, traditional language and English.

As noted earlier, the Northern Territory Department of Education claims that it is concerned with extending existing bilingual programs to further schools whenever the same language materials can be utilized. Kriol has a well established bilingual program which could be extended to other Kriol-speaking communities, and I have sought in chapter two to identify those communities. The extension of the program to those other schools in the Northern Territory, however, is dependent upon two factors (McGill 1980:46): Firstly, programs will be extended from a central school only when a well developed coherent literature program has been trialed. Secondly, such extensions will occur only at the request of the Aboriginal community and with the approval of the Secretary of Education.

In the case of Kriol, the central school is at Barunga where virtually all curriculum and literature development has been taking place. The

Northern Territory Department of Education has been undertaking an evaluation of the Barunga program. This evaluation basically tests academic performance alone in spite of the important non-academic aims of bilingual programs (e.g. the development of better self-concept, more responsibility for Aboriginal staff, and maintenance of first language and culture[170]). When such non-academic aims are taken seriously, the bilingual students should only have to break even with non-bilingual students for the program overall to be regarded as a success if the non-academic aims are evaluated positively (Harris 1982:36). If the Barunga Kriol bilingual program passes the department's academic appraisal, the school will become an 'accredited bilingual school'. This moves the Kriol bilingual program, in effect, from an experimental to a permanent one, and should remove some of the remaining opposition by education administrators to the instrumentalization of Kriol in the field of education.

KRIOL AND INFORMATION

When the Department of Education in the Northern Territory officially recognized Kriol and approved its use in school in the early 1970s, it was not because they considered Kriol to be of value in itself or necessary in order to communicate with Aborigines, but because they considered the use of the children's first language would ultimately result in a higher success rate of students learning English. Government departments other than Education, however, are not so much concerned with the imparting of English-related language skills as they are in effectively communicating information to Kriol speakers. The degree to which this is true varies from department to department and from personnel to personnel. The level of communicative ability of government personnel appears to depend partially on the degree to which they are affected by three commonly held views which hinder communication.

Many Europeans think that most Kriol speakers fully understand English. Such Europeans therefore proceed to use English without realizing the degree to which they are failing to communicate. Even Europeans who are aware of the difficulties encountered by people who speak English as a second language are often incapable of realizing just how complicated their own speech actually is when talking to such people (Elwell 1982:85-86).

Another view is that all communication with Aborigines should be in standard English as a means of helping them learn English. After all, so the reasoning goes, Aborigines have to learn English in order to get on in the world, or at least it should be in English since that is the language of Australia, and there should therefore be no accommodation on the part of standard English speakers. The argument that "Ultimately the Aborigines all have to learn to speak English anyway, so why not get them used to it now?" is often levelled against bilingual education (Harris 1982:37). This view stems from an attitude that goes back to the early days of the Australian colonies. It appears that monolingualism in English was the "culturally approved norm" (Australian Ethnic Affairs Council 1981:5), with it generally being "assumed everyone should learn and use English and that everyone should live the same way and have the same culture" (Sharpe 1982:40).

The third commonly held view is that the use of Kriol will prevent a Kriol speaker from being able to learn English or will cause him to lose some of the English he has already learnt. The strongest criticisms of using Kriol in writing come from monolingual Anglo-Australians who hold this view, for they consider Kriol and English to be mutually exclusive (Hudson 1983a:19). This idea probably stems in part from the inability of many English speakers to appreciate the nature of bilingualism due to the monolingual ethnocentrism of the majority of Anglo-Australians. It also stems in part from the belief held by many that Kriol is a deficient language which hinders the 'remediation' of the supposed 'cultural deprivation' of those who speak it. This latter belief is not restricted to Kriol but, as Fesl (1979) points outs, is also applied to varieties of Aboriginal English.

These ideas are not limited to government personnel, but are also held by many other Europeans including missionaries.[171] When the Kriol Bible translation project began twelve years ago, there was more opposition than support for the project from missionaries. The most common reason given for this opposition reflected the second concept above. A number of missionaries in essence said, "I have to preach the gospel in English so Aborigines can learn English and get on in the world". A number of these missionaries have now come to realize, at least in theory, that their primary role is not teaching English, but some still do not support the translation project. The main reason given today for not doing so is related to the belief that English is sufficiently understood by Kriol-speaking Aboriginal Christians so that the English Bible is adequate. There is, however, an increasing number of missionaries who, like Leske (1980:23-24), a missionary in the Northern Territory for thirty-three years, have realized[172] that the result of having exclusively used English is "that what was understood was often far from the reality of what we thought was being expressed... A man understands Kriol but he does not really understand the English concepts; therefore his understanding would not correspond to what is expressed in English."

Of the many changes which have come about during the last decade, one of the most important has been the recognition of the distinction between teaching English and communicating information. An understanding of bilingual education and T.E.S.L. has probably been the most significant factor in bringing about this change. Another factor has been the growing realization among Europeans at the grass-roots level that in the Kriol language area Aborigines do not in general understand English to the degree that they appear to.

The independence of Papua New Guinea has had an indirect bearing on this realization in regard to Kriol. Some of the Commonwealth Government officers who were serving in Papua New Guinea before independence in 1975 were repatriated to the Northern Territory. While in Papua New Guinea they were well aware of the presence of New Guinea Pidgin and the existence of interpreting and translation services in Pidgin. Upon transferral to the Kriol speaking area, they were immediately aware of the existence of Kriol. They were used to government recognition and use of Pidgin in Papua New Guinea and transferred their expectations to the government in the Northern Territory, although these expectations were not fulfilled by the government.

One of these government officers was the late Peter Cameron, a Crown Law Solicitor transferred to the Darwin Law Courts. Six months after his transfer, as a crown prosecutor in a trial in which a Kriol speaker was charged with first degree murder, he broke with normal practice and secured the services of a (non-Aboriginal) Kriol translator[173] while interviewing witnesses in preparation for the court case. He had intended to have the interpreter serve during the court case, but the defendant pleaded guilty and thus cut short the need for the interpreter. In discussing the situation with the Kriol interpreter, the crown prosecutor said that he was astounded to discover upon his arrival in Darwin that there were no court interpreters even when the defendant was on trial for first degree murder. In Papua New Guinea he had come to expect the presence of interpreters even for petty charges.

The need for translating/interpreting services in Kriol was recognized in Brennan's (1979:43) report for the Commonwealth Department of Aboriginal Affairs, and more recently by the Kimberley Language Resource Centre Pilot Study[174]. During the last decade several dozen Kriol translations have been done for a number of government departments. One of the problems faced by these departments in getting the translations done, however, has been the lack of a central listing of Kriol translator/interpreters whose services could be secured.[175] Brennan (1979:36) notes that "when people who have needed interpreters are asked how they got access to them, the usual response is along the lines of: 'one asks around'." This is still a frustrating problem today, not only for the departments seeking the services of a Kriol translator/interpreter, but also for Kriol speakers who have undertaken translator/interpreter training. They are frustrated because there is no institutionalized organization of translator/interpreter services that would list the jobs for which they have been trained.

The Northern Territory Division of the Department of Aboriginal Affairs was the second government department to recognize the significance of Kriol. A circular letter sent by the department to all field personnel in 1976 stated that "it has become apparent to the writer that the use of Creole Pidgin [i.e. Kriol] would have acceptance in all Aboriginal communities; this assumption is the end result of questioning Aboriginals who frequently visit our Darwin offices."[176]

The department endorsed participation of field personnel in a Kriol language learning course that was being offered at the Summer Institute of Linguistics' school in Sydney. However, response was fairly negative to the circular and no department personnel attended the course, although three school teachers (from Barunga) and two missionaries (one of whom was working in the clinic at Ngukurr) attended. Since then several Kriol language learning courses have been offered, and a cassette course published by the Summer Institute of Linguistics in 1981 has been used in several colleges of advanced education as part of their Aboriginal studies courses.[177]

Beginning with the translation of the Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976, the Department of Aboriginal Affairs has had a number of items translated into Kriol. These have been oral translations circulated on cassette. The Northern Territory Department of Health, through the clinic at Ngukurr, has produced two books, two media kits, several cassettes and numerous posters in Kriol. The Australian Bureau of Statistics has also produced two media kits in Kriol, one for each of the last two censuses. The Australian Electoral Office has produced cassettes and in some cases posters in Kriol for Federal, Northern Territory and National Aboriginal Council elections. Unfortunately, however, the Northern Territory elections were shifted forward at the last minute and the time and money spent on preparing the Kriol materials were wasted as the materials were not able to be distributed before the elections. The Department of Social Security has had information on benefits and pensions translated into Kriol for distribution in the form of posters, brochures and a cassette.

Considering the amount of information that these and other government departments attempt to convey to Aborigines, in spite of the above mentioned translations, the government has made very little use of the communicative potential that Kriol offers.

Kriol has likewise been used very little in adult education. Most of its use has been informal where Kriol-speaking Aborigines have done the teaching. As with other government departments, the use of Kriol by TAFE [Technical and Further Education] in the Northern Territory has depended primarily upon the attitude of particular adult educators in the field. During the past twelve years at Barunga, for example, most adult educators have allowed Kriol to be used, (although few have actively encouraged and supported its use), with the exception of at least one particular adult educator who actually very actively opposed the use of Kriol in the community and the school and continually ridiculed Aborigines for speaking it. The use of Kriol by TAFE adult educators is affected by the attitude of TAFE department officers. An adult educator at Ngukurr, for example, was unable to get funds for a Kriol literacy program in 1979 because Kriol was not recognized as a 'real' language by TAFE officers.[178] A change in personnel in the regional TAFE office has since resulted in a more positive attitude.

The Northern Territory Department of Health has probably been the most active in its use of Kriol, primarily because the work has been instigated by concerned field personnel and carried out by Kriol-speaking Aboriginal health workers.

It should be noted that all of the above mentioned translations, with the exception of a job for the Electoral Office in Western Australia (Hudson and McConvell 1984:7), were done by departments or divisions of departments located in the Northern Territory. Although Kriol is spoken throughout the Kimberleys and in part of Queensland, no attempt has yet been made by governments to make use of Kriol in Western Australia or Queensland. Political boundaries impose an artificial limitation on the use of Kriol materials produced by government departments. Even though the materials being produced by, for example, the Northern Territory Division of the Department of Social Security are as applicable to the Kimberleys and northwest Queensland as they are to the Northern Territory, the Northern Territory Division evidently has no mechanism by which it can distribute those materials for the benefit of Kriol speakers in those two states.

Distribution of Kriol materials as a whole presents a problem. As pointed out earlier, the people who could benefit from these materials live in two hundred and fifty Aboriginal communities in three states. Although much time and effort goes into producing a translation of a document for a department, it appears that no department has the ability to make effective use of that time and effort by getting the material produced into the hands of someone in each of those communities. In addition to the inability of crossing political boundaries, a limited budget is often given as the reason for limited distribution even within a department or division's region. Material that is produced in the field is often circulated only within the community in which it was produced, and even then not necessarily effectively.

What is probably the most viable means of disseminating information to Kriol speakers in all of those communities in which it is a primary language has yet to be utilized. The use of Kriol on radio was discussed as early as 1976 by the Australian Broadcasting Commission [ABC] in Darwin.[179] With the recent establishment of several Aboriginal Radio programs, the potential now exists for the use of Kriol in the dissemination of information through the radio media.[180] The current structure of the programs potentially allows for a limited amount of time to be given to Kriol broadcasts, although such broadcasts have yet to be realized. In addition to the brevity of time allocated, however, the locations and type of radio stations airing Aboriginal Radio programs also severely limit the number of Kriol speakers able to benefit from these broadcasts. The current stations with a potential for reaching Kriol speakers are located in Darwin, Alice Springs[181] and Mt. Isa (with the broadcasts for Mt. Isa originating in Townsville). None of these stations is located in a community central to the Kriol language area. The most relevant of these stations would be Darwin. All of these stations operate in the medium wave band. The distance of their propagation is limited, with probably less than twenty percent of the Kriol language area being adequately covered under ideal conditions. What is needed if the communication of information to Kriol speakers throughout the Kriol language area is to be achieved, is the establishment of a Kriol radio program in the shortwave bands. The ABC through Radio Australia[182] provides shortwave programs in Indonesian, Standard Chinese, Cantonese, Thai, Vietnamese, Japanese, French and New Guinea Pidgin. Exploring the feasibility of extending this program to Kriol would be a step which could bring about better communication of information with the 20,000 or so Kriol-speaking Aborigines in North Australia.

The dissemination through such radio programs of information translated into Kriol by the various government departments would be much more efficent and effective than the present ad hoc methods of distribution. In addition, the establishment of such programs would provide employment opportunities for Kriol-speaking Aborigines who have received translating/interpreting training at the School of Australian Linguistics and the Institute for Aboriginal Development.

The formulation of a national language policy may well give official recognition and status to Kriol and bring about the effective realization of the communicative and educational potential which Kriol offers by removing the barriers which prevent the instrumentalization of Kriol in the media and government information services. Research during the last few years has firmly established that Kriol is the language used for most everyday communication among most of the Aborigines throughout a large portion of North Australia. Anyone seriously attempting to communicate with Aborigines throughout that area, (representing some ten percent of the total Australian Aboriginal population), can no longer continue to ignore or oppose such a widespread and significant language as Kriol.

KRIOL LANGUAGE PLANNING

Formal language planning arises out of the perception of language problems. The primary focus in language planning has been on the language problems of 'developing' nations in relation to the standardization and modernization of national languages, orthographies and literacy, specialized terminologies and functional styles. Recently language planning has been expanded to language problems of minority groups in 'developed' nations in relation to such issues as second languages and multilingualism, translating and interpreting, and communication difficulties in contact situations (Neustupný 1983:1).

The perception of the existence of language problems leads to the concept of language correction. The correction process involves the identification of a problem, a design for its removal, and the implementation of the design. Language correction provides the widest frame of reference for dealing with language problems. A more specific frame of reference is language treatment, which refers "broadly to all organized forms of societal attention to language problems, both in the past and at present" (Neustupný 1983:2).

Language planning is a subset of language treatment, denoting only such language treatment that is systematic, rational, future-oriented, and informed by a language planning theory. More specifically, language planning is

> *deliberate* language change; that is, changes in the systems of language code or speaking or both that are planned by organizations that are established for such purposes or given a mandate to fulfill such purposes. As such, language planning is focused on problem-solving and is characterized by the formulation and evaluation of alternatives for solving language problems to find the best (or optimal, most efficient) decision (Rubin and Jernudd 1975a:xvi).

Language planning is therefore normally associated with an organization as the purveyor of rationality in planning, the organizational or institutional framework usually being provided by government. The entire language planning enterprise can be viewed as a political process, for it is through such a process that some members of the community are given what Jernudd (1982:2) calls "variable opportunity to participate in designing a desirable future and finding ways of moving toward it as effectively as possible". This is not a simple straightforward process, for not only are there different levels of political organization through which people may express their preferences, but different communities have different kinds of political organization as well. Definitionally, then, language planning is "tied to the structure of the polity — [to the] political process and public administering agencies at any level of group inclusiveness" (Jernudd 1982:2).

Language treatment and language planning can apply to either or both of two categories of language issues, namely to questions of how to effect changes in the status of particular languages in the community (status planning) or to questions of how to bring about changes in the language itself (corpus planning) to make a given laguage better suited to serve various intended functions.

The major language problem of Aborigines in North Australia, as perceived by non-Aboriginal people for almost a century, is that they speak a form of language other than so-called "correct" English. Language treatment that pre-dates the 1970s involved mainly attempts to replace Aboriginal forms of speech with English. While such treatment could be considered definitionally to have been language planning since it was governmentally sponsored deliberate language change that focused on problem-solving, it could not be said to have been characterized by the formulation and evaluation of optimal alternatives nor to have been a political process through which members of the community affected by language planning had opportunity for input.

It was pointed out in the previous chapter that Kriol came into existence at the Roper River Mission shortly after 1908. Pidgin had been present in the area for some thirty-five years prior to the establishment of the mission. The emergence of Kriol occurred following a violent period of time that had extreme social and linguistic consequences for the Aboriginal groups of the Roper River area.

> As is typical of Aboriginal people of the region, the adults of these groups were multilingual. They had not lived permanently in such close proximity before but in their traditional lives had met for ceremonial and other purposes each year. Over the course of a lifetime, these people became fluent speakers of each other's languages. The children, however, were not yet multilingual. There were between 50 and 70 children attending school at the mission. They were now forced into contact with other children whose languages they had not yet had time to learn. Whereas their parents could communicate with other adults by speaking Alawa or Mara or Wandarang or whatever, the children could not. What they had in common was the English pidgin used between Aboriginal and European people and the English they were hearing in school. With this limited input, it was this younger generation who, in the course of their lifetime, created the creole, manipulating the lexical resources available to them and drawing on linguistic universals to create a language which catered for all their communicative needs (Harris and Sandefur 1984:15).

Kriol emerged at Roper River in spite of the efforts of the missionaries to stamp it out. The mission had an active language policy that "discouraged" the use of Kriol and focused on teaching Aborigines to "speak correct English". Many of the Aborigines who grew up as children at the original mission did in fact learn to speak English fluently. English did not, however, supplant the language they created for their first language, neither in their nor their descendants' generation.

However, the emergence and development of Kriol at Roper River can not be considered to be a direct consequence of the language treatment activities of the Anglican missionaries. They had applied their language policy at all their missions, but it was only at Roper River Mission that it was not successful. At Emerald River Mission on Groote Eylandt, for example, no creole ever emerged. A creole failed to develop at Emerald River, not because of the application of a language treatment policy, but because the socio-linguistic context of the community was such that there was no need for a creole to develop. The Groote Eylandters already had their own language and they had no need to develop a first language in the mission community.

The language problem faced by the children at Roper River Mission was greater than the missionaries realized. The children had an immediate need to communicate with each other on a first language basis. The acquisition of English was of little value except for communicating with the missionaries. The end result was the creation by the children of a new language. Thus Kriol emerged at Roper River, not through the language planning efforts of missionaries, but in spite of their efforts.

Not only did Kriol emerge in spite of the language treatment of the early missionaries, but it has also persisted despite the continuous efforts of missionaries and teachers to eradicate the language through disparagement and ridicule. Aborigines in other places, such as Groote Eylandt, recognized that this was the language of the Roper River people. In the language network of the western Gulf of Carpenteria, "Roper Pidgin" was widely acknowledged as being the socially correct usage at Roper River. Groote Eylandters were sorry for the Roper River people because they had "lost their language", but this did not prevent Groote Eylandters from using Kriol with their Roper River relatives.[183]

As indicated in chapter two, Kriol is not restricted to the Roper River area. It is currently used as a significant language in over two hundred and fifty Aboriginal communities in three states. It was pointed out in chapter four that the social changes brought about by World War Two were largely responsible for the emergence of Kriol as a first language in most of those communities. Despite the language treatment efforts of European institutions, Kriol is the first language of thousands of Aborigines throughout those communities.

Until the 1970s Kriol was almost universally held in low esteem by non-Kriol speakers as well as Kriol speakers themselves. This became very evident to me early in my studies of Kriol. As a result I determined to concern myself with helping to reverse this trend and improve the social standing of Kriol, an endeavour that has met with a great deal of success. In chapter three I showed how the attitudes of Kriol speakers toward their language have significantly changed in the last decade and how more and more Kriol speakers are publicly identifying with Kriol. The earlier sections of this present chapter clearly imply the increasing acceptance of Kriol as a legitimate language by non-Kriol speakers by virtue of its recognition and instrumentalization, especially in education. This entire book is, in effect, a documentation of the almost phenomenal rise in status and social standing of Kriol since 1972.

I do not by any means wish to imply that I am solely responsible for bringing about the emergence of an autonomous status for Kriol. Such a claim would be patently false.[184] I have discussed at length in all except the first chapter various significant aspects of the socio-political and socio-linguistic situations of the last decade that have been instrumental in bringing about the rise in status of Kriol.

Most of the preceding has dealt with matters of status planning. As regards language corpus planning, no such activities were directed at Kriol until the early 1970s.

Non-Kriol speakers have always informally affected the expansion of the Kriol lexicon by communicating with Kriol speakers on subjects involving experiences new to Kriol speakers. Kriol is rich, for example, in its pastoral terminology. Although stockwork is an introduced non-traditional activity, it has been assimilated by Aborigines into their contemporary lifestyle. As a consequence vocabulary associated with stockwork has been incorporated by Aborigines into their Kriol speech. However, such lexical expansion is not due to language planning, for it is not the result of a deliberate attempt by an institutional body to enhance the expressive power of Kriol.

Formal Kriol language planning in the corpus developmental sense has only taken place since the establishment of the SIL Kriol Bible translation project and the Barunga Kriol bilingual school program in the early 1970s. As was pointed out in chapter two, most of the formal or deliberate development of Kriol (as opposed to its spontaneous development by Kriol speakers) has arisen from these two translation and education programs. The effects of these two programs in increasing the expressive power of Kriol are evident in three main areas.

Firstly, SIL and Barunga School have worked together with Kriol speakers, initially from Ngukurr and Barunga, in developing a written mode for Kriol.[185] Most of the direct influence of non-Kriol speakers on the written mode relates to the development of a script or orthography for Kriol.[186] Non-Kriol speakers have also encouraged the development of various written styles, but it is Kriol speakers themselves who are doing the writing and thereby developing the particular styles of writing. Because virtually all Kriol writers to date first obtained their literacy skills in English, the influence of English style in Kriol literature is clearly evident.[187] Some Kriol writers show signs, however, of not being constrained by English writing rules.

Secondly, although standardization is not overtly planned, it is generally supposed that the development of a written Kriol literature will have a standardizing effect upon the language. Written literature tends to fix the formal code, with that which is considered to be optimal language later becoming the 'classical' language (cf. Ferguson 1968:30). It should be pointed out, however, that Kriol literature is still very much in an incipient stage and limited to a relatively few number of Aboriginal communities. The standardizing effect of Kriol literature is therefore dependent upon the continual growth of the body of literature and its widespread distribution, the latter of which has yet to take place.

Thirdly, the Bible translation project is expected to have a standardizing effect on Kriol terminology across dialects. As with the standardizing effect of written literature, this standardizing of terminology is a by-product of the translation process rather than the result of a deliberate or conscious planning process. For example, binjibinji in the eastern dialects means 'pregnant'. The term is not in common use in the western dialects but has been under consideration for use in Bible translation. It would then be expected that if the term were used in widely distributed and often used literature, binjibinji would come into greater use in the western dialects.

Two basic principles of the modus operandi of the Bible translation project should be pointed out. The first principle is the heavy reliance on Kriol speakers who are familiar with English terms which occur in the Bible and have fairly well developed notions as to how to translate them into Kriol. The actual translation is not being done by non-Kriol speakers. While SIL personnel assist with the task, their responsibility is primarily to insure fidelity to the source text. It is the Kriol speakers who translate the source text into idiomatic Kriol. This principle not only helps to ensure an idiomatic translation that will sound natural and be understood by Kriol speakers, but it also helps to prevent the unwarranted introduction of English loanwords into the translation.

In spite of the heavy reliance upon Kriol speakers, SIL recognizes that the Kriol Bible translation project will inevitably have an effect upon the lexical expansion of Kriol. The advent of the Bible to any minority group exposes the people to knowledge and experiences new to their culture and language. The translation of the Christian Scriptures by SIL, however, is guided by well defined and recognized principles of translation (e.g. Beekman and Callow 1974, Larson 1984) that seek to express the Scriptures idiomatically within the existing corpus of a given language. The goal is to translate the meaning of the source text, rather than its form, into the receptor language, using the natural lexical and grammatical forms of the receptor language. Such guidelines lead to a lessening of deliberately introduced changes in the corpus of the language.

In the case of Kriol, the Bible translation project was begun at a time when terms and concepts relevant to the Bible were already fairly well developed in Kriol. As was pointed out earlier, Kriol emerged in a mission environment in which the missionaries exposed the Aboriginal people to the Bible in English and at the same time unsuccessfully attempted to thwart the spontaneous development of Kriol. As the Aborigines assimilated Christian teaching into their contemporary lifestyle, they expanded the Kriol lexicon to include their new experiences and knowledge. The Bible translation project is, in fact, the first language planning activity aimed at supporting rather than suppressing the language. Thus in that project, SIL has not had to make many corpus changes, but has been able to utilize vocabulary which had already been spontaneously developed by Kriol speakers themselves.

The second basic principle of the Kriol translation project is that of the use of Kriol expressions and structures which enjoy wide currency and acceptance. The translation is not being produced in a particular local dialect. The first draft often starts out in a local dialect, but localized constructions are edited out and replaced with more widely used equivalent expressions. For example, drafts produced by Ngukurr Kriol speakers almost inevitably make use of the pronoun melabat 'we'. That pronoun is restricted in its distribution, with almost all other dialects using mibala instead. As a result mibala is being used in the Bible translation instead of melabat.[188] The by-product of this principle will possibly be the standardization of certain expressions or constructions, at least in written form if not in church language.

The influence of non-Kriol speakers has thus been mainly restricted to the development of an orthography and subsequent written literature, including the translation of the Bible, and the standardization that is arising from that literature. The enlargement of the expressive power of Kriol has taken place almost in its entirety as a consequence of the spontaneous efforts of Kriol speakers themselves.

There are a number of Kriol speakers who have expressed opposition to the development of Kriol. This is not surprising. What de Rieux (1980:268) says about creole in the Seychelles is applicable also to Kriol: "The dominant group, speaking the dominant language, [has] managed to persuade the creole-speakers that their 'speech' [is] so inferior in status as to be a 'non-language'."

There is an increasing number of Kriol speakers who are freeing themselves from the negative attitudes toward their language which the Anglo-Australian dominant culture has impressed upon them. During the last twelve years there have been several hundred Kriol speakers who have moved from publicly denying their language to publicly acknowledging it. They are increasingly coming to adopt the attitude expressed by Todd (1974:27): "There is no intrinsic stigma attached to speaking a creole, and ... to deny [one's] linguistic heritage is to interfere with [one's] cultural heritage and to block, if not to dam, the flow of [one's] self-expression."

During the last few years two significant and growing groups of Kriol speakers have emerged. These speakers may well exert a substantial influence on the future development and instrumentalization of Kriol.

One of these groups consists of the Kriol speakers who have either worked in the Barunga school Kriol bilingual program, been involved in the SIL Kriol Bible translation project, or studied at the School of Australian Linguistics [SAL][189]. Possibly the most important contribution these three entities have thus far made has been the development in Kriol speakers of positive attitudes toward their language. Eric Yelawarra Roberts, one of the first Kriol students to complete a study program at SAL, is a case in point. In 1980, while serving as a member of the Northern Territory Bilingual Education Consultative Committee, he commented at the ninth consultative committee meeting that "Although I spoke Kriol, I didn't really accept it until I was eighteen. Now I write poetry in Kriol and I am proud of it." (Meehan 1981:29).

The other significant and influential group of Kriol speakers consists of teachers and teacher trainees. These Kriol speakers are becoming acutely aware of the importance of their pupils' mother tongue in education. As more and more Kriol speakers become trained as teachers, their influence on education policy and programs for their communities will increase.

The aims and implementation of the modernization and instrumentalization of Kriol will increasingly rest with such Kriol speakers. The effectiveness of language development and utilization programs, however, are ultimately dependent upon the whole of the 'Kriol-speaking community', not simply a small elite. The future of Kriol lies, therefore, predominantly in the hands of the 'Kriol-speaking people'.

SUMMARY AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

In this book I have sought to trace the coming of age of a language which began to emerge only a few generations ago. I have shown that although the roots of this language extend back to the earliest days of the colonization of the Australian continent in the late 18th century, it was only at the turn of the 20th century that the language began to acquire mother tongue speakers. The development of an autonomous identity and its coming of age as a language in its own right had then to await the passing of another half-century.

I have attempted in the first half of the book to define and locate the speakers of this language and to delineate it from neighbouring and similar forms of speech — on the one hand, from another creole which is spoken in North Australia and, on the other hand, from Aboriginal English, which is a form of English spoken throughout the continent of Australia. Such a delineation was suggested both by linguistic and extra-linguistic criteria, e.g. the sociolinguistic perspectives of the speakers and the functions which the languages serve.

One of the most significant questions raised in regard to the language under study is whether or not it is an Aboriginal language. In seeking to answer this question, I have examined some aspects of the world view which the language encodes and investigated the functions which it serves relative to other languages spoken in the same language area. I have concluded that in view of the semantic structure and the functions to which the language is put, it is an Aboriginal language even though most of its vocabulary comes from English.

In the second half of this book I have focused on a Kriol-speaking community in the Northern Territory, looking especially at the way in which government policies have been unintentionally promoting the development of the language. This was followed by a discussion of language planning issues related to this new language, in particular the issues relevant to the education of children.

One of the most surprising facts about this language is that a decade ago no one understood its nature nor realized its significance. By having acquired a name and several new functions, in a very short span of time this new Aboriginal language, which has the largest number of speakers of all Australian Aboriginal languages,[190] began to acquire a new importance for its speakers as well as have an impact on the wider Australian community.

I did not aim in this book at a linguistic description of the language. That has been done in part elsewhere (e.g. Sandefur 1979, Hudson 1983a), with most linguistic analysis to date having concentrated mainly on analysis of segmental phonology, morphology, and phrase- and clause-level syntax. Detailed analysis of supersegmental phonology and discourse grammar has yet to be undertaken. In addition, as was pointed out in chapter two, virtually all research to date has been on the Roper River, Barunga [formerly Bamyili] and Fitzroy Valley dialects. As a result, field research and basic linguistic analysis still needs to be carried out on Kriol in the Halls Creek, north-eastern Kimberley, Victoria River, Daly River, Darwin and Barkly Tableland areas to determine the extent of dialectal variation.

My aim in this book has been a sociolinguistic inquiry into those aspects of the language situation which do not fit into a simple descriptive statement but which affect the life of the speakers as well as the language itself. I have attempted to point out the complexity of the Kriol language situation by touching on a wide variety of issues. In so doing, I have provided a general background for further investigation of the many questions which still remain unanswered.

I tried to show in chapter one that many theoretical questions about the nature and function of pidgins and creoles are yet unresolved. Data concerning the creole situation in North Australia should contribute greatly to the development of theories relating to pidgins and creoles in general. The North Australian situation is so varied that it offers research opportunities on numerous theoretical issues, such as the processes of creolization, decreolization and second language acquisition in action.

The second chapter touched on more questions than any other, most of which warrant further inquiry. More study needs to be made of the relation between Kriol and other varieties of speech in the Kriol language area. On the one hand, this includes looking at the linguistic relationship between Kriol and English (i.e. interlanguage versus decreolization continuum), between Kriol and traditional Aboriginal languages (i.e. substratum influences), and between Kriol and other pidgins/creoles elsewhere (comparative linguistics). On the other hand, the sociolinguistic relation between Kriol and varieties of speech should be examined in greater detail. This involves study of code-switching and code-mixing of English, Kriol and traditional language, and of the social motivation of language change. No one has yet undertaken the task of providing a detailed ethnography of speaking of an Aboriginal community in the Kriol language area.

Variation within Kriol itself warrants closer attention. As pointed out above, research has thus far been concentrated on only three dialects — very little is known about the others. Not only do the other dialects need to be linguistically delineated, but our understanding of variation along the Kriol continuum, both through time and space, needs to be increased. Study is also required of the numerous varieties of Kriol — the sociolects, styles and registers of Kriol — and the social variables involved in linguistic variation within Kriol.

In chapter three I briefly looked at the semantic structure of Kriol in a few domains to show that it encodes an Aboriginal world view. Miscommunication is very common between Europeans and Kriol speakers because of the semantic differences between Kriol and English in spite of the fact that the Kriol lexicon is largely based on that of English. There is, therefore, a critical need for detailed research in the field of Kriol semantics. Domains which are of particular importance for the well-being of Kriol speakers are those related to health, European law and community development issues. In the context of education, mathematical concepts and ethnoscience need to be studied.

Chapter three looked at the issue of Kriol and Aboriginal identity. The link between Kriol, the shifting role of traditional languages, and the Aboriginal person's self-perception of his Aboriginal identity warrants closer examination. I have discussed this question essentially as though Kriol speakers formed an homogenous group. A more detailed investigation would undoubtedly show that different groups of Kriol speakers, possibly along the lines of the groups delineated in chapter two, are resolving questions of their linguistic identity differently. Each of these groups warrants in depth examination on this question.

I dealt with some of the broader aspects of the historical development of Kriol in a particular community in chapter four. Harris (1984) has carried out detailed archival research on the development of early pidgins in the Northern Territory and the subsequent creolization at the turn of this century. Archival research of early pidgins in other parts of Australia and the subsequent creolization or depidginization in other communities could help shed light on language origin and language development. Likewise, a close examination of the historical factors involved in the development of Kriol in various communities throughout the Kriol language area would provide valuable insights into language change and language variation. In particular, the recent linguistic history of those communities in which gross changes towards Kriol (or English) are presently occurring should be examined. The opportunities of studying creolization and wholesale language shift in progress are too valuable to be missed.

I pointed out in chapter five that the Northern Territory Department of Education was one of the first in the world to recognize the importance of a creole when it accepted the legitimacy of using Kriol in bilingual education in the early 1970s. The department's creole bilingual program at Barunga is one of only a few such programs throughout the world, and as such it potentially has important implications for thousands of creole-speaking children, not only in North Australia, but around the world. Unfortunately, with the exception of Murtagh's study in 1979, very little research has been carried out on the program. There should be ongoing studies of various aspects of, not only the Barunga program, but the other Kriol programs mentioned in chapter five. Studies should be made, not simply of the Kriol strand of school programs, but also of traditional language revival and cultural programs and their relationship to Kriol bilingual programs, the performance of Kriol-speaking children in non-bilingual schools in comparison with those in bilingual schools, and the use of creoles (including non-English-based creoles) in education in countries other than Australia. Not only should such research help us evaluate and improve Kriol bilingual education programs, but it should also further our understanding of the role of language in the cognitive development of children. Research on the developmental norms of children in the acquisition of language in a creole context would also be an important undertaking.

It has been my thesis that Kriol is an Aboriginal language coming of age. I argued in the last chapter that Kriol originally emerged in spite of the early language planning efforts of missionaries and that it persisted despite continuous efforts by missionaries and teachers to eradicate it. Since the early 1970s, a number of non-Aboriginal people, including myself, have been heavily involved in raising the status and social standing of Kriol.[191] Admittedly, it is doubtful that Kriol would now be coming of age if it were not for their support and advocacy. However, even such recent and supportive influence of non-Aboriginal people has been restricted to status changes and has had little bearing on corpus development. The corpus of Kriol arose originally and developed further largely through the spontaneous linguistic creativity of Aboriginal people. The language itself is their own creation, a creation that is coming of age in spite of a long history of opposition.

NOTES

NOTE 1 The Summer Institute of Linguistics [SIL] is a sister organization to Wycliffe Bible Translators [WBT]. These two international organizations grew out of an organization founded by Cameron Townsend in 1934 to carry out linguistic research, literacy and Bible translation initially in Mexico. WBT concerns itself primarily with the recruitment of personnel and resources whereas SIL provides training and undertakes language projects. The same people are functioning members of both organizations. SIL and WBT currently have over 5000 members from 32 countries, about 30 percent of them being from countries other than the United States. SIL and WBT are working or have worked in over 950 minority languages from about 46 countries.

Huttar (1981:83) points out that SIL has traditionally concerned itself with the languages of minority groups, rather than major languages such as English, and that its involvement in the study and use of vernaculars has led SIL since the 1960s to work in a number of creole languages, especially in the circum-Caribbean and southwest Pacific regions. (See Huttar 1981 for a brief description of SIL's involvement in English-based creoles.)

NOTE 2 The Australian continent has a land area of almost eight million square kilometres, about the same as the United States less Alaska. During the last two hundred years Australia has changed from being an Aboriginal society of about three hundred thousand to a multicultural but predominantly European immigrant society of more than fourteen million. Almost twenty-five percent of the population, which represents more than a hundred ethnic backgrounds and non-Aboriginal languages, were either born overseas or of parents who were born overseas (Bullivant 1981:41). Some forty percent of the population live in Sydney and Melbourne alone. What was once an Aboriginal society is now only one percent Aboriginal. The Aboriginal population is predominantly of rural residence and, except for the Northern Territory, of mixed descent. The largest per capita concentration of Aborigines is in the Northern Territory where they account for about twenty-five percent of the population. Western Australia is second with only two percent of its population Aboriginal. Some Aboriginal groups in the remoter parts of Australia, notably Arnhem Land and the Great Sandy Desert, had their first intensive contacts with non-Aboriginal people during and after World War Two. In the 1960s the last of the traditionally nomadic groups was 'brought in' to a more settled lifestyle. Today there are no groups of Australian Aborigines who live in a totally traditional manner.

NOTE 3 Kriol is most commonly referred to by Kriol speakers themselves as "pidgin", "pidgin English" or, in the Northern Territory, "Roper pidgin". Some speakers, especially children, also refer to the language as "lingo", "pidgin lingo" or "language".

The term pidgin, however, as used by Kriol speakers, includes other varieties of English-related speech as well, such as Aboriginal English, Torres Strait Creole and New Guinea Pidgin. As a result, the term does not provide a distinctive label for this particular language, often resulting in confusion. Shortly after approval was given for the use of "pidgin" in the Barunga [formerly Bamyili] school in 1974, for example, the Director of Education in Darwin received a letter from an ex-Minister-in-Charge of Aboriginal Affairs inquiring as to why the school was teaching Aboriginal children to speak New Guinea Pidgin. The term pidgin also carries very negative connotations for Europeans. The term for many is synonomous with "bastardized English" and the language is often described by them as such. When the Barunga school was granted permission to use Kriol, the principal realized that the negative connotations of the term pidgin would work to the detriment of the school's program. Because the language was technically a creole and not a pidgin, he declared that in the Barunga school the language would be referred to as "Creole". The term pidgin was banned from official use, although no attempt was ever made to prevent Kriol speakers themselves from using the term.

Contrary to the claim made by Shnukal (1983b:33), the principal and I did not assign the name Kriol to the language in order to give it enough prestige to be used in an official bilingual program. Shortly after the language had been technically defined as a creole instead of a pidgin (cf. Sandefur 1973a, 1973b), it began to be referred to in the technical literature as creole (e.g. Sharpe 1975 [1974]). Usually the word creole was used in conjunction with the name of the geographical region in which the particular variety or dialect under study was spoken (e.g. Roper Creole or Bamyili Creole). Shnukal (1983b:26) has essentially espoused the same practice for Torres Strait Creole when she states that "for technical linguistic reasons" she uses that name in her paper even though no Islanders used it. One of the difficulties with this practice for Kriol, however, is that there is no name available which exactly covers the whole area throughout which Kriol is spoken. The name North Australia covers almost all of 'Kriol country', but it is unsuitable since it includes a region outside Kriol country — namely Cape York.

The term creole eliminated to a large degree the immediate recall of negative attitudes brought about by the connotations of the term pidgin, but it introduced new problems. For most Europeans, creole is a French language in the West Indies, and indeed a number of English dictionaries define it as such. This evoked a number of controversies and confusion, some classic examples of which were manifest in a series of letters to the editor of *Northern Territory News* (see Appendix 4). Similar to the term pidgin, the term creole did not provide a distinctive label for the language.

With the development of an officially recognized orthography in 1976, the term creole was automatically spelt in the new orthography as *Kriol*. (This spelling is somewhat of an anomaly, for the Kriol orthography does not have an *io* digraph nor does it allow vowel clusters across syllable boundaries. To be spelt in strict accordance with the orthographic conventions of the language, it would need to be spelt *Kriyol*.) Kriol is not the only creole language to have done this. Note, for example, Krio in Sierra Leone, Kreol in the Republic of Seychelles, Kriole in the Netherland Antilles, as well as Kryol or Kriol for the Portuguese creole in Senegal. In print the name Kriol provides for a distinctive label for this particular language. Unfortunately, however, the name has been misapplied by some writers. Shnukal (1983b:31) notes, for example, that an item in the *Torres News* of 10 May 1983 reporting on the extension of the ABC's broadcasting services stated that an Islander was to "present the Torres Strait Kriol [sic] elements". Confusion still obtains in speech, for 'creole' and 'Kriol' are homonyms. Several attempts have been made to encourage Kriol speakers to develop a truly unique name for the language, but these attempts have not met with success. It is to be hoped that one day the speakers of the language will give their language its own unique name.

Initially the term creole, and later Kriol, was used primarily only by Kriol speakers directly associated with the Barunga program. Due in part to the spread of Kriol literature and to the increasing use of the name by both Aborigines and Europeans, the name is gaining a much wider currency among Kriol speakers. Dr. Gillian Smith informed me in 1984 that Aborigines at Ngukurr where Kriol work has been carried out for a decade as well as in Katherine where no direct efforts to promote Kriol or Kriol materials have been made, now freely use the name Kriol, whereas five years ago when she was at Ngukurr very few of them did. Although many Kriol speakers now refer to the language as Kriol, they often alternate between using the name Kriol and the other terms. On a survey in Queensland, for example, a Kriol speaker from Ngukurr explained to Queensland Aborigines that "we're going around looking for this Kriol, what they call pidgin English" (Sandefur et al 1982:36).

The relation between Kriol and 'pidgin' is not yet clearly defined in the minds of all Kriol speakers. One Kriol speaker at Ngukurr, for example, has spoken of pidgin as having come from Roper but Kriol as having come from Barunga. In the context of his statement it appears that he considered pidgin to be the spoken language, whereas he considered Kriol to be the written language. Since the name Kriol and most of the Kriol literature the man had seen had come from Barunga, his concept had a legitimate rationale. On the other hand, one mother tongue Kriol speaker in the east Kimberleys, upon being introduced to the name Kriol through Kriol literature, commented that he had sometimes wondered what the name of his language was.

NOTE 4 I normally use the term 'Kriol speaker' in this book to refer to a person who speaks Kriol as his primary language. This status may be acquired by two routes, either by speaking Kriol as a first language (or mother tongue) or by speaking it as a second language. There are, however, a relatively small number of people who speak Kriol as their first language but not as their primary language. People for whom Kriol is their mother tongue but who move out of the Kriol environment, especially at an early age or for a long period of time, may not have any or very little speaking/hearing competence in Kriol. On the other hand, many people, especially over the age of forty, speak a traditional language as their mother tongue and Kriol as a second language. However, because they have lived in a multilingual community which uses Kriol as the lingua franca and with children and grandchildren who speak Kriol as their mother tongue, they now speak Kriol as their primary language. Not all such people speak Kriol with full control or fluency (Sandefur and Sandefur 1980:32). Those who do not are broadly included in the category of Kriol speakers, although they are excluded from the category of those who speak 'proper' Kriol. Virtually all Kriol speakers are Aborigines, the majority of whom were born and raised in the Kriol-speaking area. Some Aboriginal Kriol speakers, however, are immigrants, often married to local Kriol speakers, who have taken up residence in a Kriol-speaking community. There are a few non-Aboriginal Kriol speakers, the majority of whom have grown up in a Kriol-speaking Aboriginal community with Kriol speakers as peers.

NOTE 5 It is not really known how many extant pidgins and creoles there are. Hancock (1977) lists 127, but DeCamp (1977:4) points out that "other authors would not all exactly agree" to the contents of his list.

NOTE 6 See note 8 for his reason for doing so.

NOTE 7 Mühlhäusler (1980) makes a threefold distinction: jargon, stabilized pidgin and expanded pidgin.

NOTE 8 Some writers have extended the term creole to refer to any language which has undergone massive structural change due to language contact regardless of any affiliation with a pidgin. Bickerton (1981:4), on the other hand, more narrowly defines the term to refer to languages which: (1) "Arose out of a prior pidgin which had not existed for more than a generation", and (2) "Arose in a population where not more than 20 percent were native speakers of the dominant language and where the remaining 80 percent was composed of diverse language groups". He defines the term so narrowly because his aim "is not to account for the origins of all languages known as creoles... but rather to search for certain fundamental properties of human language in general..." By his own admission, his first condition rules out classifying the Australian Aboriginal creoles as creoles. They cannot be allowed, he says, because a longer antecedent period of pidginization results in features becoming fixed and thus distorting the "normal" process of creolization (1981:98-99).

NOTE 9 Glottochronology has tended to provide a definition, albeit of a static nature.

NOTE 10 In Haiti the French creole and standard French are not mutually intelligible (DeCamp 1971a, 1971b). Educated Haitians frequently switch back and forth between the creole and French much the same as switching between totally foreign languages, a situation first defined by Ferguson (1959) as 'diglossia'.

NOTE 11 Bickerton (1981) presents some very strong arguments and evidence seemingly in favour of such hypotheses. As was pointed out in note 8, however, he very narrowly defines the term creole for his own specific purpose, justifying his specific definition by claiming that all of the languages known as creoles do not constitute a proper set anyway (1981:2).

NOTE 12 Bickerton (1981:48) argues that this is patently not so and refers to those who persist in making claims of substratum influence on creoles as "substratomaniacs"!

NOTE 13 Bickerton (1981) argues that the three are very much interrelated. The development of creoles and the acquisition of language are united, he says, by the bioprogram language (which in one sense is a subset of the universal limit of languages) that is the present outcome of the evolution of human Language itself.

NOTE 14 Anderson (1979:108) says Stauble (1978) coined the terms, but Stauble (1978:35) says Schumann did.

NOTE 15 Some examples are Foelsche (1881), Willshire (1896), Searcy (1909, 1912) and Barclay (1938) throughout the northern half of the N.T.; Wildey (1876), Sowden (1882) and Parkhause (1895) in Darwin; Daly (1887) around Darwin and the Adelaide River area; Litchfield (1924) around Darwin and the Coast; Masson (1915) around Darwin and the Roper River area; Kelsey (1975) in the Yam Creek area; Buchanan (1933) in the Pine Creek and Tennant Creek areas; Plowman (1933) along the Tennant Creek to Oodnadatta track; Gunn (1905, 1908), Giles (1906), White (1918), Langford-Smith (1935) and Thonemann (1949) in the Roper River area; Baume (1933) in the Granites area; Gee (1926) mostly in the Centre but also the Daly River area and elsewhere [He gives a few instructions on how to speak pidgin on pages 15-16.]; Gill (1970) in the Alice Springs and Petermann Ranges area; Farwell (1949) in the Birdsville Track area; Duncan-Kemp (1961) in the Channel Country; Idriess (1959) in the Bloomfield River area; Banfield (1908) on Dunk Island; Gribble (1930) in Queensland and northwestern Australia; DeGrys (1961) in northwestern Australia; Idriess (1937, 1949) in the Kimberleys; as well as Herbert (1937), Hill (1942) and Wilkins (1929). [Note: I am indebted to John Harris for pointing out some of these references to me.]

NOTE 16 Bridges (1970:4), somewhat naively I think, goes so far as to try and identify a particular person responsible for originating pidgin in Australia: "In the mid 1790s convicts absconding from the settlement included one John Wilson who was accepted by the Aborigines... In order to converse with his tribesmen [he] developed a pidgin of native and English words. This development of a pidgin tongue in such culture contact situations is of course a common practice but he was the originator of what became the standard means of communication in Australia."

NOTE 17 Throughout this book where my research indicates that the speech being referred to in a quote is Kriol, I indicate my interpretation by inserting "[Kriol]".

NOTE 18 For a lengthier sketch of the history of the language situation in the Kimberleys related to the rise of Kriol, see Hudson and McConvell (1984:25ff).

NOTE 19 The Kimberley Language Resource Centre Pilot Study (Hudson and McConvell 1984:28-29) reports that 1955 is a significant date, not only for Fitzroy Crossing, but for other parts of the Kimberleys as well: "It was the year that Moola Bulla closed down and children were taken to school at Fitzroy Crossing, in a dormitory system run by the UAM mission. People at Fitzroy Crossing say that Kriol started to take hold from that time. This is borne out by our survey: people interviewed by our Language Workers in various places give their first language as an Aboriginal traditional language if they were born before about this date. If they were born after 1955 they give their first language as English or Pidgin English [Kriol], and an Aboriginal language as a second language learned when they were 7 years old or over. If their late language learning was further interrupted by schooling away from home, they are likely to know little of the language."

NOTE 20 These indentured labourer were the 'Kanakas'. For information on the Kanaka pidgin, see Dutton (1964, 1980), Dutton and Mühlhäusler (1978, 1984), Mühlhäusler (1979, 1981) and Sankoff (1980).

NOTE 21 No firm figures on the number of speakers is yet available. Shnukal (1982:25) says that Torres Strait Creole is spoken "by most Torres Strait Islanders, of whom about 5,000 still live in Torres Strait itself, and perhaps another 18,000 now live on the mainland". It is spoken as a first language on at least eleven of the fifteen predominately Islander communities in Torres Strait. Crowley and Rigsby (1979) estimate that 1400 Islander and Aboriginal people speak it in the five 'village' communities which make up greater Bamaga. Lockhart River would add another 400 or so Aboriginal speakers to the total. It appears, then, that Torres Strait Creole is spoken as a first language in at least a dozen and a half communities, being spoken as a first or second language by some seven or eight thousand Aborigines and Islanders in Cape York and Torres Strait, as well as by up to 18,000 Islanders on the mainland.

NOTE 22 Anna Shnukal has been studying the Islander variety of Torres Strait Creole under the auspices of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.Her descriptive material should soon be available.

NOTE 23 For a complete listing, see Sandefur (1979:125ff) and Hudson (1983a:28ff).

NOTE 24 Kriol is popularly thought by many Europeans to be "just like New Guinea Pidgin". The similarities, however, are mostly superficial and shallow. During the 1930s in the Kimberleys before creolization had taken place, Kaberry (1939:x) made a brief comment on the relation between Kriol and New Guinea Pidgin, saying simply that Kriol "differs from that current in New Guinea". Hall (1943:267), analysing data from the Kimberleys obtained from examples scattered here and there in Kaberry (1939), concluded that "on the basis of both grammatical structure and vocabulary, Australian Pidgin is sufficiently different from Melanesian Pidgin to be classified as a separate pidgin language, not merely a subdivision of Melanesian Pidgin or of a more inclusive 'Beach-la-Mar'". Hudson (1983a:179-180) provides a few notes comparing the two. No one, however, has yet undertaken any serious comparison of the two, except for Clark (1979) on a limited lexical corpus.

NOTE 25 Quoted from an oral report to SIL by Brian Dan Daniels and Mal Wurramara, 14 July 1980. Daniels made the comment quoted.

NOTE 26 I use the term 'Standard Australian English' (SAE) informally, after Kaldor and Malcolm (1982:112), to indicate "the form of English spoken by persons of English-speaking-Australian linguistic backgrounds, with a certain, undefinable, 'higher' level of education and recognized, even if not clearly defined, as the medium of education in Australian schools".

NOTE 27 For a more detailed discussion of the confusion and suggestions towards the rectification of the situation, see Sandefur 1983d.

NOTE 28 This limitation is imposed due to the fact that most of the studies of AE for which information is available have focused on children's speech.

NOTE 29 The dialects of Kriol east of the Stuart Highway are collectively referred to in this book as the eastern dialects, and those in the Kimberleys as the western dialects.

NOTE 30 From a recording made by Annette Walker of a seminar given by Bill McGregor at SAL, 15 October 1982, regarding Yiyili.

NOTE 31 For more details on the outstation movement as a whole, see Coombs et al (1980), which is based on Coombs (1979), Dexter (1979) and Hiatt (1979).

NOTE 32 For a detaled discussion of all of these settlements in relation to the development of the pidgin forerunner of Kriol, see Harris (1984).

NOTE 33 Much of the information in this and the following paragraphs is from Sansom (1980).

NOTE 34 See note 41.

NOTE 35 David Trigger (personal communication, 23 July 1984) reckons that about half the population may use a few Kriol prepositions fifty percent of the time when speaking in their domestic environment. In a social context such as a gambling ring, most people may use Kriol prepositions seventy-five percent of the time. In drinking contexts the figure may well increase to ninety percent.

NOTE 36 This statement is somewhat misleading, for Kriol is present at Doomadgee as a significant language. Most of the residents who were originally from Queensland appear to speak a variety of AE as their primary language. A significant segment of the population, however, immigrated from the Northern Territory. Most of the (older) adults of this segment of the Doomadgee population speak Garawa, Yanyuwa or Waanyi as their mother tongue and Kriol as a second language. They tend to speak their traditional language among themselves and Kriol with the other Doomadgee residents, many of whom can also switch to Kriol if needed. When I say, therefore, that it appears that Kriol never developed at Doomadgee, I am referring to the creolization of the speech of the community as a whole. It appears that most people who speak Kriol at Doomadgee learnt it elsewhere. When Kriol was brought into Doomadgee by the Northern Territory immigrants, it did not spread to the non-immigrant group as it did at Fitzroy Crossing. Maybe the significant difference between those two communities and the way in which they responded to the entrance of Kriol is that the Kriol-speaking immigrants at Fitzroy Crossing were children who spoke Kriol as their first language, whereas at Doomadgee they were adults who spoke it as a second language.

NOTE 37 The three girls made the recording in August 1981 while they and their grandmother, an aunty and uncle and a younger cousin were staying with my family at Ngukurr. Subsequent observations of their speech were made in Halls Creek on several occasions during the next few years when my family and I stayed with them.

NOTE 38 See Sandefur (1979:120-121) for information on the durative aspect.

NOTE 39 The Kriol clause imin bringimbek ful la biliken is literally 'she-(past tense) brought-(transitive verb marker)-back full in billycan'.

NOTE 40 For details of each word, see the glossary in the appendix.

NOTE 41 Sharpe and Sandefur (1976:64) maintain that "the evidence in the Ngukurr-Bamyili area does not warrant a clear distinction of two dialects of creole [i.e. adult pidgin and youth creole]" as Jernudd argues. Fraser (1977a) and Hudson (1983a), however, take the perspective of Jernudd in the Fitzroy Valley area. Hudson (1983a:8-9) argues that linguistically "there are two different English-based varieties spoken in the Fitzroy Crossing area, one basically the same as Kriol spoken in the Northern Territory and the other a pidgin of uncertain origin", the former of which she refers to as "Kriol" and the latter as "Adult Pidgin".

NOTE 42 As Hudson (1983a:22) points out, this folk-system is used by speakers in the eastern dialects, but not in the western dialects. Western dialect speakers tend to simply distinguish between "high" English (i.e. SAE) and "blackfella" English (i.e. Kriol).

NOTE 43 For details of each word, see the glossary in the appendix.

NOTE 44 These and the following examples are based on an analysis of the 'pidgin' conversation in Gunn (1905, 1908).

NOTE 45 Related to word formation are some aspects of lexical expansion. An interesting study of one Kriol example is provided by Steffensen (1979b).

NOTE 46 It might be more accurate to say that the Barunga school has been involved in the production of Kriol literature rather than the development of literary styles as such. The first book to be published in Kriol came off the Barunga press in 1976. Approximately 400 titles have since been published, representing almost 5000 pages of text. Of those, seventy-five percent were published by the Barunga school press, ten percent by SIL or WBT, five percent by the Bible Society and the remainder by half a dozen other entities. Although only ten percent have been published by SIL or WBT, SIL personnel have helped in various aspects of the preparation of almost twenty-five percent of the Kriol books published to date. About one third of all the books published are part of the Barunga school 'literacy kit', which includes workbooks, check books, phonic books, instant readers and experience readers. Another dozen and a half titles are instructional material such as primers and alphabet books published by entities other than the Barunga school. About half of the books published by Barunga are general readers, all of which are used in the reading scheme. The school also uses in their reading scheme books published by other entities. About half of all the Kriol books published are stories written by some forty Kriol authors from six communities, although most of them are from Barunga. Their stories are mostly dreamtime or hunting stories, although there are also a significant number of biographical or anecdotal stories. Most of the books published by SIL, WBT and the Bible Society are translated stories. Eight books are Christian Scriptures. With the exception of the Scriptures and about a dozen secular books, virtually all of the published Kriol books are for children. It should be noted that the Barunga school has regularly published a community magazine that includes Kriol items, some for children but others for adults. The magazine has not been included in the above statistics. It should also be noted that Kriol novels were started by two SAL students. Unfortunately they have never been finished.

A few comments should be made regarding literary styles and written discourse structures. Very little real planning has gone into developing written discourse structures. Most have developed 'naturally'. When Kriol speakers started writing stories in the mid-1970s to provide reading material for the Barunga program, they were instructed to write as they spoke. A few early books were also made from transcriptions of oral stories. Two trends were quickly noticed. Writers did not write exactly as they spoke and readers did not like reading straight transcriptions. Particularly noticeable were readers' dislike of several forms of topicalization, especially tagging and extensive use of noun phrases in apposition. [See Hudson (1983a:45-48) for a discussion of the oral use of these features.] It is likely that English reading and writing habits have influenced Kriol writers, for virtually all Kriol writers to date became literate in English before Kriol. As trends in the use of certain features in writing Kriol have become noticeable, such as the use of certain particles for marking paragraph breaks, some of the features have been taught to school children and literacy workers. A few deliberate efforts have been made, primarily at Barunga school and by SAL, to encourage Kriol authors to write about new subjects, write to express certain emotions, or try to develop new genres. Barunga, for example, has published a collection of humorous stories that were written as part of a workshop. The community magazine in the past has printed several Kriol cartoons by David Jentian, and several of the literacy workers have written some Kriol poetry.

The reader who is interested in details of the Barunga school Kriol program curriculum is referred to Kathy Gale's three teacher's manuals listed in the bibliography.

NOTE 47 For a detailed account of the development of the Kriol orthography, its evaluation and revision, as well as efforts at standardization, see Sandefur (1984a).

NOTE 48 The Kriol-speaking students, Ralph Dingul, Marianne Roberts and Winston Thompson, all from Ngukurr, developed the following terminology:

neim wed	'noun'
gulumbat pipul wed	'pronoun'
dalimbat wed	'adjective'
wujeiwujei wed	'adverb'
lida wed	'preposition'
wujei wed	'locative preposition'
wataim wed	'temporal preposition'
dumbat wed	'verb'
taim	'tense'
taim wed	'tense marker'
longtaim wed	'past tense marker'
gamanaptaim wed	'future tense marker'
mijamet wed	'reduplication'
sambala	'examples'

Barunga School had previously begun using *haphapwan wed* to refer to 'syllable'.

NOTE 49 I am using 'non-modern language', in contrast to 'modern language', in the sense of a language which has not undergone modernization as defined by Ferguson (1968:28) as mentioned a few paragraphs earlier.

NOTE 50 I am indebted to Patrick McConvell for pointing this out at a seminar at SAL, 15 October 1982.

NOTE 51 The boundary between the Fitzroy Valley and Halls Creek dialects clearly falls to the west of Yiyili (personal communication from Joyce Hudson, December 1982). Yiyili's 'mother' community, Louisa Downs, has the reputation of being *the* Kriol-speaking community of the Kimberleys. No specific studies of the Kriol in these two communities, however, has yet been undertaken.

NOTE 52 There is not yet available a single document which provides details of dialect differences. In the meantime, however, Sandefur (1979) provides some comments on differences between the Roper and Barunga dialects, while Sandefur and Sandefur (1980) and especially Hudson (1982a, 1983a) provide some comments on the differences between the Fitzroy Valley dialects and the two Northern Territory dialects (i.e. Roper and Barunga).

NOTE 53 Personal communication from Margaret Sharpe.

NOTE 54 'Broken' language in the technical sense as defined by Ferguson and DeBose (1977:100): "the imperfect approximations of a language by speakers of another language who are in the process of learning it..."

NOTE 55 These include such languages as Walmajarri in the Kimberleys; Walpiri and Alyawarra in the central area of the Northern Territory; Ritharrngu, Gunwinggu, Nunggubuyu and Anindilyakwa in Arnhem Land; and Garrawa and Yanyuwa south of Arnhem Land.

NOTE 56 Languages or dialects which are rapidly declining include, for example, Djingili, Mudbura and Warumunga in the central area of the Northern Territory; Alawa and Mara in the Roper River area; and Marithiel, Wadyiginy and Ngangikurrunggurr in the Daly River area. Languages and dialects which are extinct, or virtually extinct, include, for example, Binbinga, Ngarnga, Gudandji, Wambaya, Warlmanpa and Wagaya in the central area of the Northern Territory; Yukul, Wandarang, Ngalakan and Ngandi in the Roper River area; and Mullukmulluk, Tyeraity, Matngala, Maramandji, Marengar, Maranunggu and Pungupungu in the Daly River area (Tryon 1974:xi, Chadwick 1979:656-658, Glasgow 1984).

NOTE 57 These include, for example, works on Alawa (Sharpe 1972), the Daly family languages (Tryon 1974), Djaru (Tsunoda 1981), Djingili (Chadwick 1975), Garawa (Furby and Furby 1977), Gudanji (Aguas 1968), MalakMalak (Birk 1976), Mara (Heath 1981), Maranungku (Tryon 1970), Ngalakan (Merlan 1982), Ngandi (Heath 1978), Ngarinjin (Coate and Oates 1975, Rumsey 1978, 1982), Rembaranga (McKay 1975), Ritharngu (Heath 1980a), Walmajarri (Hudson 1978), Yanyula (Kirton 1971), Warndarang (Heath 1980b), and the West Barkly languages (Chardwick 1979).

NOTE 58 Also from personal communication with Joyce Hudson, Eirlys Richards, Alan Rumsey (August 1979), Anna Shnukal (April 1982), as well as from Bill McGregor and Patrick McConvell (from a recording by Annette Walker of a seminar at SAL, 15 October 1982).

NOTE 59 Personal communication from Joyce Hudson and Eirlys Richards as well as Fraser (1977a:147-148) regarding the Fitzroy Valley area; personal communication from Patrick McConvell as well as McConvell (1980:2) regarding the Victoria River district; and personal observations regarding the Barunga area.

NOTE 60 The relation between English, Kriol and traditional languages and the roles adults expect them to fulfill have important implications for schools wishing to implement language revival programs. Unfortunately, very little study has been undertaken in this area. What follows is a tentative suggestion.

Harris (1982:32-33) points out that the N.T. Department of Education has generally "refused to get involved with language revival proposals on the grounds that motivational conditions similar to those in Israel do not exist here and also that if Ireland cannot do it successfully neither can we. Where there are suggestions from older Aboriginal people about language revival... we make facilities available but do not get too actively involved. In these few cases Aboriginal parents are asking the school to do something they cannot, or are not prepared to, do themselves."

Harris (1982:50) goes on to note that "in regard to language revival, I do not believe that bilingual education can revive a language that is not spoken spontaneously by the children at least some of the time outside school. But at a critical point when the language is still spoken by the children, even if change is imminent, then at that point bilingual education can probably do a great deal to maintain the language." In other words, the probability of the school being able to revive a traditional language is very slim, especially if the adults do not use the language with the children in the home environment and the children do not respond in the language at least some of the time.

The basic principle of bilingual education is that a child should be taught content in his home language (i.e. his first language or mother tongue). Throughout the Kriol language area for most children this is Kriol. Part of the bicultural aspect of a bilingual program, however, should probably include traditional language. Kriol provides for Aboriginal identity as against European identity, but it takes a traditional language to provide linguistic identity with a person's specific tribal heritage. As McConvell (1980:3) points out regarding Turkey Creek, "Kija will provide the children with a pride and identity as specifically Kija people belonging to Kija country..." A 'bilingual' program may, therefore, need to be 'trilingual' in some cases if it is to teach content in the children's mother tongue and traditional language as part of the culture component.

In communities in which the relation between Kriol and traditional language as mother-father languages (as discussed in the subsection on baby-talk and child language) is valid, and in which the social attitude is such that children are not expected to speak the traditional language until after puberty or school leaving, a 'revival' program might take the following format:

An Aboriginal child needs to have a passive knowledge of his traditional language in order to facilitate his learning to speak the language once he leaves school. In some communities if the school does not teach the traditional language, then a child may never 'know' his traditional language. If it is socially unacceptable for children to speak the traditional language, the program would probably need to focus upon using the traditional language in role-playing. In such a community a child should not be forced to speak the language outside the classroom nor even be expected to do so. When he reaches the age at which it becomes socially acceptable for him to speak the language, he should then have sufficient knowledge, although not full control, of the language to be able to do so relatively easily.

Literacy in a language should normally follow at least a passive knowledge of a language. In addition, the initial acquisition of reading skills should be in a language with which a child is fully conversant. In other words, teaching a child to read his traditional language should be preceded by initially teaching him literacy in his own first language and oral lessons in the traditional language. A fully bicultural program would, therefore, begin by teaching traditional language and English orally while simultaneously teaching literacy in Kriol. Once oral proficiency was achieved in traditional language and English, the literacy skills acquired in Kriol would be extended to these other languages. This assumes the adult community want their children to read the traditional language, for in some cases there is opposition from traditional language speakers to having their language written.

Unfortunately, most education authorities do not comprehend the strength of Kriol enough to support such a 'trilingual' program.

NOTE 61 I am indebted to Joyce Hudson for helping me clarify my understanding of this relation. The views expressed in this section, however, are mine and do not necessarily reflect her assessment of the situation.

NOTE 62 It should be mentioned that there are typically several varieties of non-Aboriginal English which are present in Aboriginal communities.

NOTE 63 Personal communication from Eirlys Richards, October 1981.

NOTE 64 According to Hudson (1983a:8-9), this is not totally true. What they speak is a pidgin of uncertain origin. See note 41.

NOTE 65 The children of the bottom camp appear to be less able to switch to English than some other children and certainly understand their grandparents' traditional language more than most other children (personal communication from David Trigger, 23 July 1984).

NOTE 66 Kriol research in the Derby and Broome areas has been very scanty. Aboriginal English may be dominant in communities in these areas such as Mowanjum.

NOTE 67 Hudson (1983a) provides the most substantial discussion of Kriol semantics yet available.

NOTE 68 In his study of Ritharrngu, Heath (1980a:3) notes that many of the Ritharrngu children at Ngukurr, in contrast to those in northeast Arnhem Land communities, "now speak English [!] (in creole form) among themselves".

NOTE 69 Personal communication from Ronald and Catherine Berndt, February 1982.

NOTE 70 The origins of traditional songs are lost to antiquity, but as Berndt and Berndt (1974:94) point out, some of the more recent songs are composed by special songmen with the help of spirit or totemic familiars.

NOTE 71 Jernudd did not mention Kriol by name, but I interpret his reference to pidgin to be Kriol.

NOTE 72 Kriol is quickly becoming tradition at Ngukurr in the sense of being a cultural trait possessed by the youngest generation which has been passed down to them by the deceased generations of whom they have no recollection. Some of the present 'senior citizens' who were infants when the settlement was started in 1908 attribute their grandparents' generation with having passed it down to them. Thus it is that Kriol at Ngukurr, at least in the perception of some Kriol speakers, extends back at least six or seven generations.

One Kriol speaker in the Kimberleys has taken a different approach at 'traditionalizing' Kriol. He reckons that Kriol was in existence as a lingua franca long before the European settlers arrived. He attributes Kriol's English-derived lexicon to relexification. His approach may not be as far fetched as at first it seems. In chapter four I discuss a 'Macassan' pidgin that functioned as a lingua franca around the coast of North Australia for several centuries. This lingua franca started giving way to English in the late 1800s. Somewhat similarily throughout the southern Kimberleys, Walmajarri used to function as a lingua franca. In the mid-1970s Kolig (n.d.:16) claimed that "in general, Aborigines under the age of 30 do not speak any other Aboriginal language" [i.e. other than the Walmajarri lingua franca]. Although there is no linguistic evidence to indicate that Kriol is a relexified version of either of these linguae francae, functionally Kriol may be perceived by some Aborigines as being an extension or descendant of these languages. In such a case, Kriol would be traditional in the sense of having been an Aboriginal trait long before the arrival of the European settlers.

NOTE 73 This exemplification is based primarily on the eastern dialects of Kriol and may not be valid for the western dialects.

NOTE 74 This is not, of course, unique to Aboriginal Australians. English speakers refer to a person who cannot speak as being 'dumb'.

NOTE 75 Or, depending on one's dialect of Kriol, *gardiya* (Kimberleys), *balanda* (northern Arnhem Land), or *mandiji* or *bapalanji* (Barkly Tableland).

NOTE 76 The reader is referred to the glossary in the appendix for the etymology of the terms discussed in this section.

NOTE 77 Personal communication from Joyce Hudson, December 1982.

NOTE 78 The format of the presentation of kinship in this section was inspired by 'The Kinship System', Module 5 of *Working with Aborigines* Media Kit, designed by Warren Hastings and John DeHoog, Mount Lawley C.A.E.

NOTE 79 The term *gajin* is not used in the western dialects.

NOTE 80 As with the kinship system, the subsection system described here is that which is in operation in the Roper River area. All of the terms in the subsection system, unlike those of the kinship system, are regionalized, with none of them being used universally throughout the Kriol language area.

NOTE 81 The Yabadurruwa has been described by Capell (1960) and Elkin (1961, 1971), and the Kunapipi by Berndt (1951).

NOTE 82 Bill McGregor, for example, says that the Gunian stories told by adults to the children in language lessons at the school at Yiyili during his stay there in 1982 were almost always hunting stories from which the adults would get the children to focus upon learning individual words, "usually tucker and meat" (from a recording by Annette Walker of a seminar given at SAL, 15 October 1982.

NOTE 83 I have drawn heavily from Hudson (1983a:137-139) throughout this section.

NOTE 84 A good example of this is the insistence of some Kriol speakers at Ngukurr that when Jesus broke the unleavened bread or *damba* at the last supper, its significance was such that it was not simply *damba* he broke, but *daga*. They insist, therefore, that *daga* should be used in the Kriol translation of the relevant passages instead of *damba*.

NOTE 85 Very little attention has been given to the attitudes of Kriol speakers toward English, although it is well known that Aborigines typically want their children to learn English, at least a 'survival' degree of English. Confusion is common in this area, however, because of the many older Aborigines who consider Kriol to be English. In his study of Kriol-speaking school children at Barunga and Beswick, Murtagh (1979, 1982:26) attempted to discover their attitudes toward speakers of Standard Australian English through the use of a matched-guise type attitudes test. The results showed that students who had been schooled in a Kriol-English bilingual program had "significantly higher positive attitudes" toward speakers of Standard Australian English than those schooled in an English-only program.

NOTE 86 I am indebted to Graham Davidson for kindly allowing me to make extensive reference to his unpublished study. It should be noted that throughout his study, the speech in question was referred to as "pidgin", which I interpret to be Kriol.

NOTE 87 Glasgow used the term "Pidgin", but by it he meant Kriol: "This should really be called Kriol as it is the first language of many people and appears to be only dialectally different from the Kriol language of the Roper and Kimberleys areas. However, as most English speakers in the area surveyed refer to it as Pidgin I follow suit in this report" (Glasgow 1984:116).

NOTE 88 This "news" was brought to the Kimberleys by the Sandefurs during their 1979 survey (Sandefur and Sandefur 1979a, 1980). For more details on the introduction of this news and on non-Aboriginal involvement in Kriol in the Kimberleys since the arrival of the news, see the appendix on non-Aboriginal involvement in Kriol.

NOTE 89 The idea of the Kimberley Language Resource Centre, which will be controlled by an Aboriginal Steering Committee, "was to start an office where any jobs to do with Kimberley languages could be done and to have a linguist working for the Centre to help people who are interested in languages" (Hudson and McConvell 1984:9). The objectives of the Centre as stated in the draft constitution in the Pilot Study report, are: "a. To provide a forum through which Aboriginal people in Kimberley [sic] can make decisions about language policy. b. to make books, and tapes (audio & video) about Kimberley Aboriginal Language & Culture and maintain copies of these as resource for Aborigines and thos working among Aborigines. c. To help Aboriginal people to work on their own languages and provide formal training in language work. d. To give advice and assistance to those desiring to teach Aboriginal languages. e. To co-ordinate research work relating to Aboriginal Language and Culture in the Kimberley. f. To facilitate services such as interpreter/translator services which relate to the needs and aspirations of Kimberley Aboriginal people. g. To provide and maintain office, library, and other facilities and equipment for the purpose of setting up and carrying on the programmes of the Centre."

NOTE 90 The Moree Champion (Moree, NSW), 26 February 1985, by Bob Cummins, under the title '"Burn Holy Bible" says Aboriginal':

> The publication of an Aboriginal bible has angered a Moree Aboriginal, Mr Ray Hales.
>
> Mr Hales, a half-caste Arunta tribesman formerly from the Northern Territory was commenting on a News Brief published in last Thursday's Champion.
>
> Mr Hales said he had lived 40 of his 42 years in the Northern Territory, and two years in Moree. He was an Eastern Arunta and believed in "The Lord Jesus as my personal Saviour."
>
> But, the Holi Baibul in Kriol, soon to be released, would do nothing but harm the Aboriginal language and customs, he added.
>
> "There is no such thing as a written Aboriginal language, so how can there be a written Bible? It is in white man's lettering and the English language.
>
> "This is different phonetics and language. As a result the pronunciation of our dialects will be weakened and finally distorted so that none of our young people will be able to understand or communicate.
>
> "Why can't these people just leave us along? This Bible should be burnt."
>
> He agreed that tape recordings of the books of Genesis, Ruth, selected parts of the Gospels, Philemon, Jude and Revelation would be a better thing.
>
> "But this Bible is the same thing as translating England's Shakespeare into pidgin. In fact it is worse, as we have spoken language and sign language only. Now we have white man's vowels and pronunciation — a

very, very serious sin against our heritage and customs.

"This is the worst possible insult that can be made to our people.

"As well The Bible Society talk about an estimated 20,000 speakers of the Kriol language which they say is in use in a wide band stretching from Western Queensland, across the Northern Territory, and the Kimberleys in Western Australia.

"I have never, ever heard of Kriol in my life and I lived in these parts all my life. that is a disgrace. Who are these Kriols — do they mean half coloured creoles from the West Indies and southern USA? In the territory we are Aruntas, never Kriol.

"I think the Bible Society should immediately remove these dangerous books or we will have to appeal to the Federal Government.

"How can they possibly record in writing a 'written language'. It just doesn't exist. Our culture is almost gone. Do they want to wipe us out completely?

"They tried that when I was growing up you know. If we offered a full-blood in the territory a drink or showed him just one letter of the white man's alphabet we could be sentenced to six months jail and fined one hundred pounds."

The following reply appeared in the Moree Champion, 11 April 1985, by Ishmael and Irene Andrews of Ngukurr, under the title 'Kooris defend the Holy Bible':

> Sir. We have read the story about Mr Ray Hales in your newspaper on the 26th of February and he doesn't know what he's saying, because he's from the Arunta tribe and Kriol isn't spoken in Arunta country and communities.
>
> We're full-blood Aborigines, not half-castes, and we've lived at Ngukurr Roper River in Arnhem land all our lives and our grandparents have spoken Kriol since their childhood, and we've followed them too, and have spoken Kriol since our childhood.
>
> We use Kriol to communicate with other Aborigines when we go to other places, like the Kimberleys of Western Australia, right up to One Arm Point and to Bamyili and Darwin, and along the coastline right up to Groote Eylandt and down to Borroloola and Nutwood Downs, all the way to the Barkly Tablelands.
>
> Even though we have different dialects, we still speak the same Kriol language and we still understand each other.
>
> All the half-castes here in this area can speak or understand Kriol also.
>
> The Kriol language doesn't go down as far as the Arunta country. That's why Mr Hales doesn't know what language he is talking about.
>
> Mr Hales said Kriol is the English language, but if its English how come the whitemen don't understand us when we speak it? Some whitemen can understand, but not all.
>
> The Arunta language was about the first Aboriginal language to have the Bible translated into it.
>
> That was done about a hundred years ago.
>
> If they send the Arunta Bible to us, we wouldn't be able to read or understand it because we don't speak Arunta.
>
> We are Kriol speakers and that is our language.
>
> But we're not Kriols. We're all different tribes, like Alawa and Nunggubuyu and many more.
>
> We're many tribes but we all talk the one language to communicate, and that's Kriol.
>
> And a lot of us speak Kriol as our mother tongue and Kriol is also used in schools.
>
> The school at Bamyili has published over 300 reading books in Kriol.
>
> They were written by full-blood Aborigines there at Bamyili, not by whites.

The Bible Society is only doing the printing of the Kriol Holy Bible.

The translation is done by full-blood Aborigines and some half-castes from Ngukurr Roper River, Bamyili, Halls Creek, Yiyili and Fitzroy Crossing.

If Mr Hales wants to burn the Kriol Holy Bible, and appeal to the Federal Government, he is going to have to fight a lot of tribal Aborigines who speak Kriol as their mother tongue.

We hope you put our letter in your newspaper so that everybody will understand what the Kriol language means to us.

NOTE 91 Sansom (1982) points out that "that pidgin", which I interpret to be Kriol, at least in some contexts, is not simply rejected by Aborigines but does not even qualify as a language in their view. While this may be true with some Aborigines who speak Kriol as a second language, it is certainly not true for a significant and increasing number of Aborigines who speak Kriol as their mother tongue.

NOTE 92 David Jentian, Holt Thompson and myself respectively.

NOTE 93 The first two examples involved myself, the second involved Annette Walker.

NOTE 94 For a detailed discussion of efforts at standardization, see Sandefur (1984b). See also the appendix on non-Aboriginal involvement in Kriol.

NOTE 95 This is a translation of what Janet Roy said to my wife. Her exact words, which were in Kriol, are not now remembered.

NOTE 96 See, for example, the letters to the editor of New Life by Rivers and Brennan in Appendix 4. It should be pointed out that Rivers' and Brennan's responses were not totally without European influence. Knowing that few Kriol speakers receive New Life, I sent a photocopy of Milnes' letter to about a dozen of them with a note saying, "This woman is rubbishing your language. I think you should do something about it." I also sent a copy of Milnes' letter to about a dozen Europeans, including Harris. As far as I am aware, however, Rivers' and Brennan's letters were totally their own composition.

NOTE 97 As the resource guide and bibliography of this book testify, one aspect of SIL's Kriol work has been the publication of numerous papers on various aspects of the Kriol language. These papers have, in part, been influential in the acceptance of Kriol by the wider Australian community.

NOTE 98 See note 3 for the background on the name 'Kriol'.

NOTE 99 I have drawn heavily in this chapter from Theile (1982), sometimes using Theile's ideas in ways that do not readily lend themselves to direct referencing.

NOTE 100 Although I use the singular form of the word throughout this chapter, there is often a plurality of governments involved, i.e. Commonwealth and state governments.

NOTE 101 Jernudd used the term "Pidgin", which I interpret to be Kriol.

NOTE 102 As far as the Aborigines are concerned, they have always owned the land. As far as the government is concerned, however, it was Reserved Crown land until it was handed over to the traditional

Aboriginal owners after the passage of the Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976.

NOTE 103 For a profile of Ngukurr in 1971, see Bern (1974); in 1974, see N.T. Department of Health (n.d.).

NOTE 104 Information about the relationship between these languages is taken primarily from Oates (1975).

NOTE 105 Much of the information in the section dealing with the history of the Ngukurr area up to the establishment of Roper River Mission is taken from Morphy and Morphy (1981).

NOTE 106 There is a report by Ashwin (1932) of a European living with Aborigines in the Roper River area before this time. Ashwin was a member of the first droving party in the Northern Territory, which was under the leadership of Milner and came from Adelaide to newly established Darwin in 1870-71. A member of this party is reputed to have encountered Classen, a member of one of Leichhardt's exploration parties. He would not come out of hiding because he said he was old and preferred to die with the Aborigines. It is doubtful if Classen would have imparted much English to the Aborigines among whom he was reputed to be living. It is more likely that he would have learnt their language.

NOTE 107 A police camp was established at Mount McMinn, some twenty kilometers upriver from Roper Bar, in 1885. This camp, which was manned by "two European and six native constables", was abandoned the following year (Commonwealth of Australia 1913:102). A permanent police station was opened at Roper Bar in 1889.

NOTE 108 An initial survey party had selected the site for the mission station the year before. Bishop Gilbert White, a member of the survey party, provides an account of the trip in White (1918).

NOTE 109 For a brief account of his first ten years at Old Mission, see Joynt (1918).

NOTE 110 For a personal account of his experiences in the Old Mission area, see Langford-Smith (1935).

NOTE 111 Quoted from page 1 of a report entitled "Church Missionary Society, Linguists' Conference, Groote Eylandt, 7th-10th April, 1970".

NOTE 112 Quoted from Section IV, point 2, of "General Policy and Methods" of the Church Missionary Society of Australia and Tasmania, Missions to Australian Aborigines, Federal Council, May 1944.

NOTE 113 Quoted from page 1 of a report entitled "Church Missionary Society, Linguists' Conference, Groote Eylandt, 7th-10th April, 1970".

NOTE 114 Quoted from page 1 of a report entitled "Church Missionary Society, Linguists' Conference, Groote Eylandt, 7th-10th April, 1970".

NOTE 115 Personal communication from Keith Langford-Smith, 7 June 1979.

NOTE 116 Personal communication from Keith Cole, 3 November 1974.

NOTE 117 Personal communication from John Harris about his father, 1981.

NOTE 118 Quoted from Section IV, point 2, of "General Policy and Methods" of the Church Missionary Society of Australia and Tasmania, Missions to Australian Aborigines, Federal Council, May 1944.

NOTE 119 Personal communication from Percy Leske, superintendent of Roper River Mission for fifteen years during the 1950s and 1960s, 24 October 1982.

NOTE 120 I am indebted to Percy Leske for pointing out the significance of the effects of World War Two on Kriol. Most of the information in the following paragraphs on the war are from personal communication with Leske, 24 October 1982.

The Kimberley Language Resource Centre Pilot Study (Hudson and McConvell 1984:28) has also recognized the significance of the war on the language situation in the Kimberleys.

NOTE 121 Quoted from a recorded interview with Percy Leske, 24 October 1982.

NOTE 122 Quoted from "Action Taken by Federal Council of Church Missionary Society on Report by Special Committee of Enquiry into Work in the Northern Territory", being extracts from the Minutes of the Federal Council, Church Missionary Society Aborigines Committee, Sydney, July 1964.

NOTE 123 Senator J.L. Cavanagh, Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, 'Opening Statement', National Missions Conference, Adelaide, 25/26 March 1975.

NOTE 124 Much of the information about the station council in this and the following paragraphs is from personal communication with Percy Leske, 24 October 1982.

NOTE 125 Personal communication from Percy Leske, 24 October 1982.

NOTE 126 For a journalist's perspective on the strike, see 'Happy Dreamtime Turns to Despair' by Kim Lockwood in The Age, May 16, 1970, page 12.

NOTE 127 That is, the fifth generation counting as the first generation those who were the first to grow up as children at Old Mission.

NOTE 128 This was the case, for example, with Edna Brooker who retired in January 1982 after working in the Ngukurr clinic for fourteen years. The administrator who succeeded her had much the same attitude, but the Aboriginal health workers were much more prone to use English in her presence than in Brooker's presence.

NOTE 129 The positions listed here were those occupied by European in 1982. Some have since changed.

NOTE 130 CMS has come a long way since their 1944 policy officially discouraged the use of Kriol. On the backcover of the December 1982 issue of Checkpoint, the Society's official organ, CMS advertised for a "Pastoral Assistant to share ministry in a non-directive and unobtrusive way with Revd Michael Gumbuli at Ngukurr, N.T. [and] to assist with Kriol literacy outreach, including recording editing in cassette production, helping English readers to read Kriol, preparing Sunday School and Bible story materials, distributing literature and cassettes to outstations. The missionary needs... positive attitudes towards learning and using Kriol."

This advertisement was the first 'official' public indication of a change in the Society's policy of which I am aware. In all fairness, however, it should be pointed out that CMS was the first to attempt literacy classes in Kriol. In 1968 Mary Harris, using materials drafted by SIL linguistic fieldworker Margaret Sharpe [nee Cunningham], began teaching a group of about eighteen non-literate adults at Ngukurr for six weeks. Some did not complete the course, and some did not learn to read. It was noted, however, that there was a marked increase in poise of those involved. In particular there was more self-confidence when talking to whites (Sharpe 1974a:20-21).

NOTE 131 CMS was unable to recruit anyone for that position and is no longer actively seeking to do so. In 1984 two local Aboriginal women completed three years of theological studies at Nungalinya College in Darwin and were ordained as deasonesses to assist the Aboriginal minister.

NOTE 132 The white person was myself.

NOTE 133 For example, in 1980 the Liquor Commissioner began his address at a community meeting by stating: "I won't speak pidgin [Kriol] because I know you all understand English." The fact is that not all of them did understand English.

NOTE 134 For a discussion of some of this revision, see Steel (1980).

NOTE 135 This paragraph describes the situation as it was in 1982. There have been several changes since then, primarily in the direction of shifting institutions away from council control.

NOTE 136 I have previously published the statement that the school policy of "pidgin in school gets the rod" was abolished in 1972 (e.g. Sandefur 1979:8, 1981a:254). I was quoting personal communication from a school teacher at Ngukurr in March 1973. In addition, a number of Kriol speakers at Ngukurr have told me they were punished for just such an offense. One of these was Harry Huddleston, who attended the Old Mission school in the 1930s. He said (personal communication, 2 January 1985) that not only did they "get a hiding" for speaking Kriol, but the teachers taught them the following poem which they had to recite at the start of each school day:

PIDGIN ENGLISH IS MY ENEMY

I know that I must speak good English and to use it every day,
Not only in the school where I'm careful what I say,
But at meals and on the playground, at my work and everywhere,
I know that I must master it in time with thought and care.

Both Lorraine Fisher-Johnson (see note 139) and Percy Leske (see note 119), however, inform me that there never was such a policy in either the mission school or the government school. Children were punished, they say, for swearing, talking back and other such verbal misdemeanours. Many of these misdemeanours would have been voiced in Kriol. It is very likely, then, that the children interpreted being punished for 'speaking to the teacher like that' as referring to their use of Kriol rather than their swearing or other misdemeanours. Another problem, pointed out to me by Leske, is that differences in code between

European and Aboriginal cultures have resulted in a lot of miscueing and therefore misunderstanding. A lot of what appears to be pigheadedness is in fact misunderstanding due to the miscueing. Miscueing evidently results not only in misunderstanding on the part of the Aborignal child, as when he does not really know why he is being punished, but also misunderstanding on the part of the European teacher, as with the Ngukurr teacher who obviously thought there was a "Kriol in school gets the rod" rule.

NOTE 137 Letter from Les MacFarland to Dick Risdale in May 1981, a copy of which was posted on the town council office door.

NOTE 138 Much of the information about Kriol and the school during the CMS time in this and the following paragraphs is from personal communication with Percy Leske, 24 October 1982.

NOTE 139 Personal communication from Lorraine Fisher-Johnson, a government school teacher at Ngukurr immediately following the handover from CMS to the government, 14 August 1982.

NOTE 140 A video program on the school was produced by WBT Media Australia in 1981. See the resource guide in the appendix for details.

NOTE 141 The Aboriginal health workers are para-medics who do work normally done elsewhere by nurses and dentists, such as diagnosis, administering drugs, dressing sores and wounds, suturing, dental care, antenatal care, running baby clinics and assisting in the delivery of babies. For a journalistic pespective, see Grant (1983).

NOTE 142 From a letter to the Assistant Secretary for Health, N.T. Department of Health, Darwin, dated January 1982, from Edna Brooker, the Sister-in-charge of the Ngukurr clinic and recipient of an M.B.E. for twenty-four years of nursing in Arnhem Land. Brooker states in her letter that "it is not the lack of Medical Skill which prevents Aboriginals from taking over. The Senior H.Ws. [Health Workers] are of much greater value in the medical work than are new-to-the-field European nurses". She goes on to state that "the amount of paper work is the greatest hurdle [in Aboriginalization] and, to my mind, the greatest barrier to progress in HEALTH WORK". She also says that the maintenance required due to the size and nature of the clinic building causes the medical staff to "WASTE MASSES OF TIME and become thoroughly frustrated". [Emphasis is hers.]

NOTE 143 Personal communication from Percy Leske, 24 October 1982.

NOTE 144 Numerous posters and several booklets and media kits in Kriol have been produced by the Ngukurr clinic for use in their community health education program.

NOTE 145 Much of the information about Kriol and the church during the CMS time in this and the following paragraphs is from personal communication with Percy Leske, 24 October 1982.

NOTE 146 Personal communication from Percy Leske, 24 October 1982. The quote is from a recording of our conversation.

NOTE 147 The SIL fieldworker was myself.

NOTE 148 One of his sermons is available on video tape. See the resource guide in the appendix for details.

NOTE 149 A video tape of a sermon by Nero Timothy from Borroloola is available. See the resource guide in the appendix for details.

There are some significant differences between Gumbuli's preaching style and Timothy's, differences which are noticeable with other Kriol speakers as well. Gumbuli's style of preaching consists predominately of switching between Kriol and English. Timothy's style, on the other hand, consists predominately of preaching in a variety of interlanguage Aboriginal English with some switching but mostly mixing of Kriol and English.

NOTE 150 For specific details see the appendix on non-Aboriginal involvement in Kriol. See also Sandefur (1981e) on the involvement of various church entities with Kriol.

NOTE 151 For information on some of these materials, see the resource guide in the appendix.

NOTE 152 The PLANLangPol Committee represents the Applied Linguistics Association of Australia, the Australian Linguistic Society, the Aboriginal Languages Association, the Australian Association for the Teaching of English, the Australian Federation of Modern Language Teachers' Associations, and the Australian Universities Languages and Literatures Association.

NOTE 153 Press Statement No. 16, released on 14 December 1972.

NOTE 154 Prior to self-government the Northern Territory Department of Education was the Northern Territory Division of the Commonwealth Department of Education, while during the 1960s Aboriginal education was the responsibility of the Welfare Branch of the Northern Territory Administration. No attempt is made in this chapter to distinguish these three entities. The Northern Territory Bilingual Education Consultative Committee as well as TAFE (i.e. adult education) have undergone similar changes, but no attempt is made in this chapter to distinguish them.

NOTE 155 SIL was the first to undertake serious study of Kriol. A preliminary survey of the Roper River language situation including "pidgin" was carried out in 1972 by Ray Wood, followed the next year by a survey looking specifically at Kriol by John Sandefur (1973a, 1973b). The evaluation of these reports resulted in SIL undertaking a longterm Kriol project. SIL is working in close association with Kriol speakers and several other entities on these projects (see, for example, SIL 1980, 1981, 1982).

When SIL first assigned me to undertake a survey study of Kriol in the Roper River area in early 1973, the project was given "low key publicity" by SIL because of the prevalence of adverse negative attitudes among officialdom. A few years later when SIL offered a Kriol language learning course at its annual summer school, DAA in Darwin sent a circular letter to DAA and mission personnel in various Aboriginal communities advertising the course as being of potential value to field personnel. The circular letter drew much adverse reaction from field personnel, including one response in which the person referred to me as his "arch enemy" because of the destructive effect Kriol was supposed to have on the teaching of English.

NOTE 156 Personal communication from Dave Glasgow, then Director of SIL, 1973.

NOTE 157 For more discussion on this particular point, see Sandefur 1983e).

NOTE 158 I have drawn heavily in this section from Craig (1977, 1980), often using Craig's ideas in ways that do not readily lend themselves to direct referencing.

NOTE 159 From a note by Guy Lionnet, Senior Education Officer, Ministry of Education and Information, Republic of Seychelles, in The Carrier Pidgin 10.3:6, September 1982.

NOTE 160 As will be discussed later, models 1 and 6 are not really bilingual programs.

NOTE 161 See note 160.

NOTE 162 There was — and still is — much opposition and hesitation on the part of the Department of Education to give official support to the use of Kriol in the Barunga school program. The hesitation appeared to stem in part from a lack of understanding by some department personnel as to what Kriol was and a belief that the Aboriginal people did not really want such a program anyway (Thompson 1976:2). As early as 1967, Jernudd (1971:28) had had talks with town council members at Barunga about the use of Kriol in school. He says the people he talked to were "quite favourably inclined" to a suggestion that Kriol be introduced as the language of instruction in the first grade. As a result of opposition from the department to extending the oral Kriol program to include literacy, during 1975 every family group at Barunga was approached by the principal and an Aboriginal teacher, and it was firmly established that the community as a whole supported the use of Kriol in the school.

The Barunga program is structured in such a way that the children's home language [Kriol] is the main language of instruction in all curriculum areas, except oral English, from preschool to year 4. Aboriginal teachers, whose first language is also Kriol, are the key teaching personnel in all of these classes. A Kriol reading scheme has been developed and initial literacy is taught in the children's first language (Meehan 1981). The following is a description of the Kriol program at Barunga School which I wrote in 1982 with the help of Kathy Gale, teacher linguist at Barunga. Some aspects of the program, especially in the staffing area, have changed since then.

The Kriol program at Barunga follows a multistrand, thematic approach in which teachers plan activities in language, reading and writing around fortnightly themes. Class-made 'shared experience' books, instant readers, readers and supplementary readers, captioned photos and the children's own experience stories are used to provide the children with lots of practice in reading. Every opportunity is taken to develop the children's writing through shared experiences. 'Phonic puppets' are used to help develop the children's aural awareness of the sounds. To help equip the children with skills for developing reading and writing strategies, phonic workbooks and associated readers have been developed.

English is taught as a second language by non-Aboriginal teachers from preschool to high school. The English as a Second Language [E.S.L.] program is very informal in the preschool and transition classes, with oral English being taught incidentally through songs and rhymes. The E.S.L. program moves into more formal daily lessons from year 1 and 2 through to high school. When the children have become competent Kriol readers they extend their literacy skills to include English reading at the year 4 and 5 levels.

The Aboriginal Kriol teachers and the non-Aboriginal English language teacher work as a teaching team, planning together language experience and reading and writing activities around unified themes.

In the early years of schooling at Barunga, emphasis is placed upon Aboriginal content in the program as much as possible. For example, the Kriol language development themes lead into all subject areas of the curriculum, and themes such as 'bush foods', 'my home' and 'Aboriginal music' mean that familiar content pervades all academic work. As the Aboriginal teachers play a key role in the planning, preparation and teaching in the classroom, Aboriginal 'processes' in learning are utilized as much as possible. As a result, Aboriginal children at Barunga are eased into school learning gradually, without sudden changes and undue pressure.

The heavy emphasis on Kriol language development through the early curriculum helps enrich the children's language from an early age, thus equipping them for the more complicated learning processes expected of them as they move through the curriculum. One obvious area of example is mathematics. In the early years at school, children manipulate materials, verbalize processes and so internalize concepts in a language that is familiar. They thus come to understand many originally alien concepts. There are some instances, however, where the mathematical language needed is too foreign to the Aboriginal culture and there are no Kriol terms yet available with which to teach them. In such cases, these concepts are taught in English in the E.S.L. lessons by the non-Aboriginal teacher or in English in the maths lesson.

STAFFING COMPOSITION [in 1982]

Grade	Aboriginal teachers	non-Aboriginal teachers	
Preschool	2	*	1
Transition	1	*	
Grade 1/2	1	*	
Grade 3/4	1	1	
Grade 5/6	1	1	
Grade 7	-	1	
High School	1	5	

* A non-Aboriginal teacher oversees the program and comes in to take the English lesson in these classes.

Beginning at year 3, comparative studies between the Aboriginal way of life and the non-Aboriginal way of life are part of the program where appropriate. For example, if the class is studying 'Aboriginal weaving' under the instruction of the Aboriginal teachers, the non-Aboriginal teacher will talk to the children in English about weaving in the Anglo-Australian culture or in other world cultures.

The students who are in year 5, 6, 7 and the four high school years have had all of their schooling in English. These classes have had brief informal sessions in Kriol literacy. There is not at present, however, any formally organized Kriol program for them.

Where possible, Aboriginal parents and adults are used in the Kriol program to add to the language experience of the children. For example, themes such as 'Barunga stories' lend themselves well to involving old people in storytelling sessions about the old days. Most of the stories in the Kriol reading scheme have, in fact, been written and published by local adults. Over two hundred books in Kriol, as well as a regular bilingual community newspaper, have been published by the local Barunga Press, which operations in conjunction with the school. The school trains and employs adults as literacy workers to help in the production of curriculum materials. The school employs a teacher-linguist to coordinate curriculum development and material production, two full-time and five part-time Aboriginal literacy workers to write and illustrate Kriol stories, and one literacy production supervisor who runs the local printshop.

In 1979, Murtagh (1979, 1982) made a comparative study of the oral language proficiency of Kriol-speaking children in the first three years of schooling at Barunga and nearby Beswick where an English-only school program is in operation. The purpose of the study was "to find out whether or not a bilingual program which uses Creole and English as languages of instruction facilitates the learning of both Standard English and Creole" (Murtagh 1982:15). Although it is difficult to control all the factors in such a study, he concluded: "The results of this study indicate very definite trends towards the superiority of bilingual schooling over monolingual schooling for Creole-speaking students with regard to oral language proficiency in both mother tongue, Creole, and second language, English... students schooled bilingually show progressively greater success at separating the two languages than their counterparts schooled monolingually. This increasing ability to separate the two languages (English and Creole), which bilingually schooled students have shown and which appears to be explainable only in terms of the two languages being taught as separate entities in the classroom, constitutes a powerful argument for the introduction of bilingual education to other schools where similar conditions obtain (Murtagh 1982:30).

The Kriol literacy program has not been in operation long enough to provide an evaluation of its effectiveness in literacy as against the effectiveness of initial literacy in English. The creativeness of written expression by the children in the bilingual program in contrast to that of children who have not been though the Kriol program, is, however, readily discernible (Personal communication from Evol Prince, Infants teacher at Barunga School, Oct. 1982.)

NOTE 163 From a report to the N.T. Department of Education by M. Brandl, Senior Education Adviser, entitled 'Visit to Roper River on 5-7 August, 1975'. Department file 73/953.

NOTE 164 The N.T. Department of Education has their own definitions of bilingual programs, accepting only two models (McGill 1980:15): "a Model I which develops initial literacy in the mother tongue, and a Model II which develops initial literacy in English but which also aims at utilising the Aboriginal language orally to promote learning". Their Model II is equivalent to Craig's monoliterate model, with Model I being basically equivalent to Craig's partial bilingualism model.

NOTE 165 A twenty-five minute video program on the Barunga School Kriol Bilingual program is available. See the resource guide in the appendix for details.

NOTE 166 The N.T. Department refers to a partial bilingualism program as a Model I program. See note 164.

NOTE 167 That this is the case for Kriol can be seen from the analysis of the categories of published Kriol books in note 46.

NOTE 168 David Trigger (personal communication, 23 July 1984) has pointed out to me that another probable reason for the school's decision is that a Kriol program would have meant a lot more work for the teachers.

In the same correspondence, Trigger also pointed out that the school rejected an offer from SAL, put forward by Gnani Perinpanayagam in 1978, to come and assess the language situation, particularly Kriol.

NOTE 169 Those involved in the implementation of the Yiyili Kriol program do not consider it to be a bilingual program but rather a language awareness program. The specific aim of the program is to enable the children to identify Kriol and English as two different languages, for failure to separate them is considered to have been one of the greatest hindrances to learning English for Aboriginal people in the Kimberleys. The program being implemented, which includes literacy, is an innovative attempt to provide an effective way of developing both the English skills of the children as well as their bilingualism in Kriol and English. (Personal communication from Joyce Hudson, the linguist employed by the Yiyili Aboriginal Community to implement the program, 11 March 1983.) [See Hudson (1984) for a more detailed description of the Yiyili Kriol program as it was implemented in 1983.]

The Kimberley Language Resource Centre Pilot Study (Hudson and McConvell 1984:61) recommends that "because Kriol is such a prominent language in the Kimberley and towns are typically multilingual, awareness programmes would be appropriate for most schools."

NOTE 170 An example of culture maintenance at Barunga is provided by Queenie Brennan (personal communication, 1982). Her two oldest children, who have been going through the pre-bilingual English-only school program, have never shown an interest in traditional matters. Her third child, however, who is going through the Kriol bilingual program, pleasantly surprised her one day when he came home from school and began asking about traditional matters. Brennan says he is the first of her children to take any interest in traditional matters and she can only attribute his new-found interest to the Kriol bilingual program.

NOTE 171 See, for example, the letters to the editor of New Life by Milnes and Pattemore in Appendix 4.

NOTE 172 In particular in recent years the Aborigines Inland Mission through Barry and Lois Downes at the Barunga Community Church and the United Aborigines Mission through Syd Williams in Geraldton W.A. have been involved in the production of biblical material in Kriol. However, as the letters in the appendix from Milnes and Pattemore to the editor of New Life clearly indicate, not everyone in those missions look favourably upon Kriol. The Bible Society of Australia has been heavily involved in the publication of biblical material in Kriol prepared by SIL. The publication of these materials has not only pushed towards a standardized literary form of Kriol, but has also influenced more positive attitudes towards Kriol resulting from the existence of high quality Kriol literature.

NOTE 173 The translator was myself.

NOTE 174 The Kimberley Language Resource Centre Pilot Study report (Hudson and McConvell 1984:66-67) states: "There has been quite a bit of discussion about this amongst the Language Workers of the Programme, and other Aboriginal people, and the general opinion is that: (a) local languages should be used for meetings in local areas; (b) Kriol is better for big meetings of people from all over the Kimberley, and farther away... (d) after hearing the big speeches in a Kimberley wide or bigger meeting people should be allowed to split up into smaller local groupings that understand each other's languages to discuss it in a local language or using local language mixed with Kriol or English. (e) each local group should bring an interpreter to the meeting so that: (f) the local group interpreter should translate into Kriol when people talk 'language' in the big meeting, so that everyone can understand; (g) the local group interpreter should help people to understand what was said in the big meeting, when people split up into smaller groups... There are a few problems: (a) Some Gardiya [Europeans] and some Aborigines who organise Aboriginal meetings would probably think interpreting takes up too much time and is hard to organise; (b) Some educated Aborigines, as well as Gardiya, are used to talking in high English and will not change over to Kriol even if they can speak it... It is very important for Aboriginal organisations to support the idea of using Kriol, and traditional languages and interpreters in their meetings. If they do not, how do they expect the Gardiya to agree to have these things in their meetings?"

NOTE 175 There is, of course, a lot of informal interpreting that takes place on a regular basis: "Where people have seen Aboriginal aides or liaison people operating (like Welfare Aides, Health Workers, Legal Service field officers etc.) they think they are a big help, particularly for older people. A big part of the job of these people is actually interpreting although some of them might not have even heard the word or done any training in it. They actually use a local language or Kriol to get a message over from a doctor, lawyer or government officer to the Aboriginal person, and get the message back to the Gardiya [European], translating it from language into English for him" (Hudson and McConvell 1984:68-69).

NOTE 176 R.A. Houldsworth, Field Guidance Officer, for the Director, N.T. Division, DAA, 28 July 1976. Department file A015/75/1248/116.

NOTE 177 Bernadette Willian, a Kriol speakers from Fitzroy Crossing, has taught a Kriol language course designed by Joyce Hudson to non-Aboriginal people in the Kimberleys (Hudson and McConvell 1984:56).

Sharpe (1983) suggests that Kriol would be an appropriate language for use in language classes outside the Kriol language area. Kriol has been referred to as the "Esperanto of the North" (Kaberry 1937:92) and could become a much more viable "Esperanto" for non-Aboriginal Australians to learn than Esperanto itself since there would be ample opportunity for real-life use of the language. She goes on to suggest that Kriol could provide an easy first step towards learning a traditional Aboriginal language since the Aboriginal-type structures and phonology are expressed in English-based roots.

NOTE 178 Personal communication from Allan Steel, Adult Educator, Ngukurr, 1979. Steel writes:

Regarding my attempts to get a newspaper operating which has been written in the local language in Kriol. As I have explained before the previous Senior Education Advisor Adult Education Mr Reg Bond, could see little value in funding Adult Literacy courses in Kriol or in finding someone to run a local paper in Kriol because he considered it most important that Aboriginals become literate in English rather than Kriol.

I have again approached the Senior Education Advisor Mr Bill Green requesting funds to run a newspaper in Kriol. He suggested that I contact the bilingual Education Dept to find out the N.T. Education Depts official view on Kriol. Nobody in that Dept wanted to go on record as saying that Kriol is or is not a recognized language by the N.T. Education Dept. With the exception of Dr Ed Murtagh who made the point that no matter what the Education Depts official policies are, Roper River Kriol is the language of the local people and is being spoken in the school by the teachers and by the children.

Mr Leigh Graham a TAFE officer, after visiting the settlement also attempted to get funds for me for the operation of a newspaper in Kriol. He wrote to me later explaining that there is quite a lot of resistance to Kriol shown by various people of ranks in the N.T. Department of Education.

I thought I should inform you why there is a delay in operating Literacy Programmes in the vernacular after the assistance and advice you have given me.'

NOTE 179 Personal communication from Reg Houldsworth, 1976.

NOTE 180 The Office of Aboriginal Liaison (Department of the Chief Minister, Northern Territory) has established the "Aboriginal Video Magazine", a service which provides copies of video programs "aimed at presenting information, news items and cultural events of interest to Aboriginal people throughout the Territory" (from page 1 of circular 82/532 dated 27 January 1983 from the Director, Office of Aboriginal Liaison). This service potentially provides a means for Kriol to be used in the video media.

NOTE 181 For a brief description of the Alice Springs program, see Kitchen (1981).

NOTE 182 From the "Radio Australia Transmission Schedule for the Period 2 May - 5 Sept 82".

NOTE 183 Personal communication from John Harris, July 1984.

NOTE 184 For specific details of what I have done and what others have done, see the appendix on non-Aboriginal involvement in Kriol.

NOTE 185 For details of how SIL and Barunga School worked together, see the appendix on non-Aboriginal involvement in Kriol.

NOTE 186 For details on the development of an orthography for Kriol, see Sandefur (1984b).

NOTE 187 For more detail on the substance of Kriol literature, see note 42.

NOTE 188 The short form of *melabat*, namely *mela*, appears to be slightly more widely used that *mibala* and was initially selected as the pronoun form to be used in the translation. It was discovered, however, that in the Halls Creek area *mela* is used as a swear word. Hence the decision to use *mibala* as a 'standard' form.

NOTE 189 SAL, which is part of Darwin Institute of Technology, offers training to Aborigines and Islanders in language related subjects, specifically linguistics, literacy, translation and interpreting. To date more than five dozen Kriol speakers have studied with SAL. Although the emphasis is upon training, some Kriol materials have been produced by SAL.

NOTE 190 As was pointed out in note 21, Torres Strait Creole may have more speakers than Kriol, but most of them are Islanders. Aboriginal English, of course, has more speakers than Kriol and Torres Strait Creole combined, but Aboriginal English refers to Aboriginal dialects or interlanguage varieties of English, not to an autonomous Aboriginal language.

NOTE 191 For details, see the Appendix 3 on non-Aboriginal involvement in Kriol.

APPENDIX 1

KRIOL GLOSSARY

This glossary is intended solely to facilitate understanding of the Kriol examples cited in this book, so only those words which occur in the book are listed here. (Torres Strait Creole words which have been cited in this book are also included in this glossary. They are distinguished from Kriol words by being enclosed in square brackets.) The Kriol words listed here are written in the Kriol orthography. (For more detail than is provided here, refer to Sandefur [1984a].) Some of the symbols in the Kriol orthography represent a range of sounds. The symbols, with (Australian) English examples as a guide to pronunciation, are:

a	as in 'father' as in 'cup' as in 'above'
ai	as in 'fight'
au	as in 'town'
b	as in 'book' as in 'video'
d	as in 'daddy'
e	as in 'elephant' as in 'apple' as in 'bird'
ei	as in 'eight'
f	as in 'family'
g	as in 'good'
h	as in 'house'
i	as in 'bean' as in 'bin'
j	as in 'jump'
k	as in 'kill'
l	as in 'look'
ly	as in 'million'
m	as in 'money'
n	as in 'nail'
ng	as in 'sing'
ny	as in 'onion'
o	as in 'sort'
oi	as in 'boil'
ou	as in 'road'
p	as in 'paper'
r	as in 'run'
rd	(retroflexed stop, not in English)
rl	(retroflexed lateral, not in English)
rn	(retroflexed nasal, not in English)
rr	(flap or trill, like Scottish burr)
rt	(retroflexed stop, not in English)
s	as in 'song' as in 'zip' as in 'measure'
sh	as in 'ship'
t	as in 'today'
th	as in 'three' as in 'there' (interdental stop, not in English)
tj	as in 'children' (alveopalatal stop, not in English)
u	as in 'book' as in 'boot'
w	as in 'wind'
y	as in 'yes'

(Torres Strait Creole words are written here as cited from Crowley and Rigsby (1979), who spelt them in the orthography they devised for that language. There are a number of differences between the two orthographies, the most notable of which is the use of geminate vowel clusters in Torres Strait Creole to differentiate between 'long' and 'short' vowels.)

The part of speech of each Kriol word is indicated, although full indication of the grammarical function of each item is not provided. Rather, only matters of relevance to the examples cited in this book are mentioned. Abbreviations used are:

a.	adjective	name	proper noun
adv.	adverb	part.	particle
conj.	conjunction	pn.	pronoun
d.pn.	demonstrative	prep.	preposition
int.	interjection	q.	interrogative
kin.	kinship term	v.	verb
n.	noun	v.a.	verbal auxillary
n.ph.	noun phrase		

It is beyond the scope of this appendix to give a full statement of the meaning of each item, so only a short English gloss is used to give some indication of the primary meaning of the Kriol word as related to its use in the examples cited in this book.

The etymology of each Kriol lexeme is also indicated, using the format "<E xxx" to indicate 'from the English word xxx' or other language as specified. It must be pointed out, however, that the assigning of an etymon to a Kriol lexeme cannot be done with any certainty in many cases. This is due in large part to extensive homophony caused by the neutralization of phonemes. In 'heavy' Kriol, for example, there is no contrast between stops and fricatives, and between voiced and voiceless stops. Compound this with a limited distinction of only five vowels, and large numbers of English words can transfer into Kriol with a single phonological shape. Homophony, for example, would be expected with the following group of English words which would all neutralize to the one form **bet** in 'heavy' Kriol: 'pet, bet, vet, pat, bat, fat, vat, bed, bad, pad, fad'. Such large scale potential homophony, however, is avoided in Kriol by the use of different Kriol lexemes: the words 'bet, vet, pat, pad, fad' have not been observed in Kriol: 'pet' is **kwayitwan**, 'vat' is **bakit**, 'bed' is **bangk**, 'bad' is **nogud**, and the animal 'bat' is **blanbo**; which leaves only 'fat' to equate with **bet**. [For a fuller discussion of homophony, see Rumsey (1983); for a short discussion of etymology, see Hudson (1983a).]

The alphabetical order of English is followed.
-bala a.suffix '(nominalizer)' <E fellow.
-bat v.suffix '(continuative aspect)' <? E about.
-im v.suffix '(transitivity)' <E him.
-ing v.suffix '(progressive aspect)' <E -ing.
-is v.suffix '(intensifier)' <E -est.
-wan a.suffix '(nominalizer)' <E one.
-wei a.suffix '(manner)' <E way.
abija kin. 'mother's mother (et al)' (eastern dialects) <Aboriginal languages.
abuji kin. 'father's mother (et al)' (eastern dialects) <Aboriginal languages.
ai pn. '(first person singular)' <E I.
ail pn. + v.a. '(first person singular **ai** + future tense **-l**)' (light Kriol) <E I'll.

ailen n. 'island' <E island.
ailibala adv. 'early morning' <E early + fellow.
Aisik name 'Isaac' <E Isaac.
alabat (Roper dialect) [see **olabat**].
amuri (variant of **ngamuri**) [see **ngamuri**].
andi v.a. ('future tense)' <E want + him.
angkul kin. 'mother's brother' <E uncle.
ani conj. 'but, only' <E only.
anti kin. 'father's sister' <E aunty.
asbin kin. 'husband' (light Kriol) <E husband.
baba kin. 'sibling, parallel cousin' <Aboriginal languages.
[**baimbai** v.a. '(distant future)' <E by-and-by.]
baindim v. 'to find, to discover' <E find + him.
bakit n. 'bucket, vat' <E bucket.
balanda n. 'whiteman' (northern dialects) <Dutch 'Hollanders' via ? Aboriginal languages.
Balang kin. '(male subsection name)' (eastern dialects) <Arnhem Land languages.
balgin a. 'bitter, sour' (Roper dialect) <Roper languages.
balgin ti n.ph. 'unsweetened tea' (Roper dialect) <[see **balgin** and **ti**].
bambai v.a. '(distant future aspect)' <E by-and-by.
bandiyan n. 'king brown snake' <Aboriginal languages.
Bangardi kin. '(male subsection name)' (eastern dialects) <Arnhem Land languages.
Bangarn kin. '(female subsection name)' (eastern dialects) <Arnhem Land languages.
bangk n. 'bed' <E bunk.
banji kin. 'wife, sister-in-law, brother-in-law' ('playboy' in some western dialects) <Aboriginal languages.
bapalanji n. 'whiteman' (Barkly Tableland dialects) <Barkly languages.
barnga kin. 'father's sister's son, mother's brother's son (et al)' <Aboriginal languages.
beikinpauda n. 'leavening agent' <E baking powder.
Beilin kin. '(female subsection name)' (eastern dialects) <Arnhem Land languages.
beit n. 'bait' <E bait.
beitwan a. 'useful for fishing bait' <E bait + one.
Benjobo name 'Banjo Bore' <E Banjo Bore.
bet a. 'fat' <E fat.
bi v. '(copula)' <E be.
[**bi** v.a. '(past tense)' <E be or been.]
bif n. 'meat' <E beef.
bifpat n. 'flesh' <E beef + part.
big, bigwan a. 'big' <E big ± one.
biginini n./kin. 'child, baby / sister's children' <Portuguese pequeno via Beach-la-mar or <E piccaninny.
bigismob a. 'very many' <E biggest + mob.
bigmob a. 'many' <E big + mob.
bijibiji n. 'fish, baby fish' (baby-talk) <E fish + fish.
biliken n. 'billycan' <E billycan.
bin v.a. '(past tense)' <E been.
[**bin** v.a. '(past tense)' <E been.]
binij v.a. '(completive aspect)' <E finish.
binijimap v. 'to complete, to totally consume' <E finish + him + up.
binji n. 'stomach' <old NSW Aboriginal language.
binjibinji v. 'pregnant' <**binji + binji**.
bisnis n. 'ceremonial matters' <E business.
bla (short form of **blanga**) [see **blanga**].
blanbo n. 'bat' <E flying fox.
blanga prep. '(genitive, possessive, benefactive)' <E belong.
blekbala n./a. 'person, Aborigine / Aboriginal' <E blackfellow.

blekbala daga n.ph. 'traditional or indigineous food'<E blackfellow + tucker.
blot v. 'to float, to move on water' <E float.
bludang (heavy form of **blutang**) [see **blutang**].
blutang n. 'blue-tongue lizard' <E blue-tongue.
bodji a. 'flash, sporty' <E bodgie.
boi n./kin. 'boy / sister's son' <E boy.
boldan v. 'to fall' <E fall + down.
bos n. 'boss, owner, caretaker, steward' <E boss.
bout n. 'boat, ship' <E boat.
brabli adv. 'very' <E properly or probably.
braja kin. 'brother, male parallel cousin' <E brother.
bred n. 'yeast bread' <E bread.
[**bring-im** v. 'to bring' <E bring + him.]
bringimbek v. 'to bring back' <E bring + him + back.
brog (heavy form of **frog**) [see **frog**].
Budal kin. '(section name)' (eastern dialects) <Arnhem Land languages.
Bulain kin. '(male subsection name)' (eastern dialects) <Arnhem Land languages.
Bulainjan kin. '(female subsection name)' (eastern dialects) <Arnhem Land languages.
buligi n. 'cattle' <E bullock.
buludang (heavy form of **blutang**) [see **blutang**].
bunggul n. 'singing with didjeridoo and clapstick accompaniment' (eastern dialects) <Arnhem Land languages.
bush n. 'out of town, bush' <E bush.
daga n. 'food, especially non-meat food' <E tucker.
dagat v. 'to eat' <E tucker.
dalim v. 'to tell' <E tell + him.
damba n. 'damper' <E damper.
[**daun** prep. 'down' <E down.]
debala a. 'deaf' <E deaf + fellow.
debeda n. 'death-adder snake' <E death-adder.
dedi kin. 'father, father's brother' <E daddy.
dei pn. '(third person plural)' <E they.
dempa [see **damba**].
det d.pn. 'that' <E that.
ding (heavy form of **ting**) [see **ting**].
dirriwu v. 'to dive, to plunge' (Roper dialect) <? Roper languages.
diskainbala d.pn. 'this sort of' <E this + kind + fellow.
doda kin. 'daughter, brother's daughter' <E daughter.
dog n. 'dog' <E dog.
[**dog** m. 'dog' <E dog.]
dubala pn./a. '(third person dual) / two' <E two + fellow.
dum v. 'to do' <E do.
dumbat wed n.ph. 'verb' <[see **dum** and **wed**].
Duwa kin. '(moiety name)' (eastern dialects) <Arnhem Land languages.
eligeida n. 'salt water crocodile' <E alligator.
en conj. 'and' <E and.
[**fa** prep. 'to, for' <E for.]
fail sneik n. 'species of edible water snake' <E file + snake.
fatha kin. 'father, father's brother' (light Kriol) <E father.
fish n. 'fish' <E fish.
[**fish** n. 'fish' <E fish.]
flawa n. 'flour' <E flour.
flesh a. 'showy' <E flash.
flot (heavy form of **blot**) [see **blot**].
fo prep. '(possessive)' (mainly western dialects) <E for.
frog n. 'frog' <E frog.
ful a. 'full' <E full.
gabarra n. 'head' (mainly Roper dialect) <old NSW Aboriginal language.

gagu kin. 'mother's mother (et al)' (eastern dialects) <Aboriginal languages.
gajim v. 'to get' <E catch.
gajin kin. 'mother-in-law (et al)' <E cousin.
gajinga int. '(swear word)' (eastern dialects) <Roper languages.
Galijan kin. '(female subsection name)' (eastern dialects) <Arnhem Land languages.
Gamain kin. '(female subsection name)' (eastern dialects) <Arnhem Land languages.
gaman (heavy form of **kaman**) [see **kaman**].
gamanap v. 'to approach' <E coming + up.
gamanaptaim wed n.ph. 'future tense marker' <[see **gamanap** + **taim** and **wed**].
Gamarrang kin. '(male subsection name)' (eastern dialects) <Arnhem Land languages.
gan [see **kaan**].
gardiya n. 'whiteman' (western dialects) <Kimberley languages.
garra v.a./prep. '(future tense) / (instrument, accompaniment) <E got + to.
gel n./kin. 'girl / sister's daughter' <E girl.
Gela kin. '(male subsection name)' (eastern dialects) <Arnhem Land languages.
[**gen** v.a. '(repetitive)' <E again.]
gidim v. 'to get' <E get + him.
gigin (long form of **gin**) [see **gin**].
gin v.a. '(repetitive aspect)' <E again.
go v. 'to go' <E go.
[**go** v.a. '(future tense)' <E go.]
goat v. 'to go out' <E go + out.
Gojok kin. '(male subsection name)' (eastern dialects) <Arnhem Land languages.
gona v.a. '(future tense)' <colloquial E gonna.
Gotjan kin. '(female subsection name)' (eastern dialects) <Arnhem Land languages.
gowana n. 'edible lizard, goanna' <E goanna.
gowena (light form of **gowana**) [see **gowana**].
greiwan a. 'off white, grey' <E grey + one.
greiwan frog n.ph. 'species of frog' <E grey + one + frog.
greni kin. 'mother's mother (et al)' <E granny.
grinwan a. 'green' <E green.
grinwan frog n.ph. 'species of frog' <E green + one + frog.
gu (heavy form of **go**) (Roper dialect) [see **go**].
gulum v. 'to name' <E call + him.
gulumbat pipul wed n.ph. 'pronoun' <[see **gulum** + **-bat**, **pipul** and **wed**].
guna n./v. 'faeces, sometimes the underground part of plants / defecate' <Aboriginal languages.
gurnda n. 'buttocks, sometimes the underground part of plants' (Roper dialect) <Roper languages.
Gwiyal kin. '(section name)' (eastern dialects) <Arnhem Land languages.
hai a. 'high' <E high.
haphapwan a. 'part of' <E half + half + one.
haphapwan wed n.ph. 'syllable' <[see **haphapwan** and **wed**].
hebi a. 'heavy' <E heavy.
hedpat n. 'head, top' <E head + part.
hei int. 'hey' <E hey.
hepi v. 'to be happy' <E happy.
i pn. '(third person singular) he, she, it' (western dialects) <E he.
[**i** v.a./pn. '(concord particle) / (third person singular)' <E he.]
idim v. 'to eat' <E eat + him.
igin (alternate form of **gin**) [see **gin**].

im pn. '(third person singular) he, she, it' <E him.

imbin pn. + v.a. '(third person singular **im** + past tense **bin**)' (standardized literary form) <E him + been.

imin (mainly eastern dialects) [see **imbin**].

imiyu sneik n. 'species of non-poisonous snake' <E emu + snake.

indit q. 'isn't it?' <E ain't + it.

inglish n. 'English' <E English.

insaid adv. 'inside, underground, underwater' <E inside.

itim (western dialects) [see **idim**].

iya adv. 'here' <E here.

jainaman n./a. 'Asian' <E chinaman.

jaina ti n.ph. 'unsweetened tea' <E China + tea.

jei (heavy form of **dei**) [see **dei**].

jejeya (long form of **jeya**, mainly Roper dialect) [see **jeya**].

jepani n./a. 'Japanese' <E Japanese.

jet (heavy form of **det**) [see **det**].

jeya adv. 'there' <E there.

jidan (heavy form of **sidan**) [see **sidan**].

jikiwan a. 'dangerous, poisonous' <E cheeky + one.

jineg (heavy form of **sineik**) [see **sineik**].

jinek (heavy form of **sineik**) [see **sineik**].

jirribala (heavy form of **thribala**) [see **thribala**].

junggayi n. 'stewards of ceremonial matters' (eastern dialects) <Arnhem Land languages.

kaan v.a. 'cannot' (standardized literary form) <E can't.

[**kaikai** n. 'food' (rarely used in Kriol) <Polynesian via Beach-la-mar.]

kakaji n. 'edible lizard, goanna' (western dialects) <Kimberley languages.

kam v. 'to come, to arrive' <E come.

[**kam** v./v.a. 'come / (directional modifier)' <E come.]

kaman v. 'to come' <E come + on.

[**kambek** v. 'return' <E come + back.]

[**kansa** n. 'blossom' <Malay.]

kantri n. 'land, country' <E country.

[**kapamari** v. 'to cook under ashes' <?.]

kasinbratha kin. 'male cross cousin' (western dialects) <E cousin + brother.

kasinsista kin. 'female cross cousin' (western dialects) <E cousin + sister.

[**kech-im** v. 'to catch' <E catch + him.]

kid n. 'child' <E kid.

kilim v. 'to hit, to kill' <E kill + him.

[**klosap** v.a. '(immediate future)' <E close + up.]

kofi n. 'coffee' <E coffee.

kukum v. 'to cook' <E cook + him.

kwayit sneik n. 'python' <E quiet + snake.

kwayitwan a. 'tame, non-poisonous' <E quiet + one.

la (short form of **langa**) [see **langa**].

laijat adv. 'thus' <E like + that.

lait a. 'light' <E light.

lambarra kin. 'father-in-law (et al)' <Aboriginal languages.

langa prep. '(location, direction)' <E along.

langgus n. 'Aboriginal language' <E language.

[**lava-lava** n. 'sarong' <? Pacific.]

lida a./n. 'ahead, in front of / leader' <E leader.

lida wed n.ph. 'preposition' <[see **lida** and **wed**].

lil, lilwan a. 'little' <E little ± one.

lisid n. 'small non-edible lizard' <E lizard.

[**lo** prep. 'at' <E along.]

longtaim adv. 'a long time' <E long + time.

longtaim wed n.ph. 'past tense marker' <[see **longtaim** and **wed**].

longwan a. 'long, tall' <E long + one.

longwei adv. 'a long way' <E long + way.

lugubat v. 'to look, to look for' <E look + about.

luk v. 'to look, to appear' <E look.

[**luk** v. 'to look, to see' <E look.]

[**maan** n. 'man' <E man.]

mai pn. '(first person singular possessive)' <E my.

[**mait** v.a. '(dubitative)' <E might.]

maitbi v.a. '(dubitative aspect)' <E might + be.

maiyal a. 'uneducated, backward' <old Aboriginal language.

mami kin. 'mother, mother's sister' <E mummy.

mandiji n. 'whiteman' (Barkly Tableland dialects) <Barkly languages.

mani n. 'money' <E money.

manuga n. 'money' (Roper dialect) <Mara word for 'stone'.

marluga. n. 'old man' <Aboriginal languages.

matha kin. 'mother, mother's sister' (light Kriol) <E mother.

mawuj (heavy form of **mawus**) [see **mawus**].

mawus n. 'mouth' <E mouth.

mawuth (light form of **mawus**) [see **mawus**].

med a. 'exhibiting irregular behaviour, insane' <E mad.

meit kin. 'brother-in-law, sister-in-law, wife, husband' <E mate.

melabat pn. '(first person plural)' (mainly Roper dialect) <? E me + and + all + about.

mela (short form of **melabat**) (used in almost all dialects) [see **melabat**].

melelabat pn. '(first person plural exclusive)' (archaic, mainly Roper cattle stations) <? E me + and + all + about.

[**mi** pn. '(first person singular) me' <E me.]

mibala pn. '(first person plural exclusive)' <E me + fellow.

[**migolo** n. 'whiteman' <?.]

mijamet pn. 'together, the same as' <? E meet + together.

mijamet wed n.ph. 'reduplication' <[see **mijamet** and **wed**].

milgi a. 'opaque, milky, muddy' <E milky.

milgi ti n.ph. 'tea with milk' <E milky + tea.

mindubala pn. '(first person dual exclusive)' <E me + and + two + fellow.

minolabat pn. '(first person dual inclusive)' (archaic, mainly Roper cattle stations) <? E me + and + all + about.

minggirringgi n. 'performers or owners of ceremonial matters' (eastern dialects) <Arnhem Land languages.

mit n. 'meat' <E meat.

mowa adv. 'more' <E more.

mulari kin. 'mother-in-law's brother' (eastern dialects) <Aboriginal language.

Mumbali kin. '(section name)' (eastern dialects) <Arnhem Land languages.

mun sneik n. 'species of non-poisonous snake' <E moon + snake.

munanga n./a. 'white person / European' <? old Aboriginal language.

munanga daga n.ph. 'European or store-bought food'. <**munanga** + E tucker.

munamunanga n. 'white people' (**munanga** reduplicated for plurality) <? old Aboriginal language.

Murrungun kin. '(section name)' (eastern dialects) <Arnhem Land languages.

na v.a./part. '(sequentive aspect) / (emphatic)' <E now.

naidam n. 'night' <E night + time.

najing v.a. '(frustrative aspect)' <E nothing.

[**nau** v.a. '(inceptive)' <E now.]

neim n. 'name' <E name.

neim wed n.ph. 'noun' <[see **neim** and **wed**].

ngamuri kin. 'father's father (et al)' (eastern dialects) <Aboriginal languages.

Ngarritj kin. '(male subsection name)' (eastern dialects) <Arnhem Land languages.

Ngarritjan kin. '(female subsection name)' (eastern dialects) <Arnhem Land languages.

no v./v.a. 'to know / (negative)' <E know / no.

nogud a. 'bad' <E no + good.

nomo v.a./int. '(negative)' <E no + more.

numu (heavy form of **nomo**, Roper dialect) [see **nomo**].

nyanya int. 'goo-goo' (baby-talk) <? Aboriginal languages.

o int. 'oh' <E oh.

[**ol** pn. '(third person plural) they' <E all.]

ola a. 'all' <?E all + the or shortened form of **olabat**.

olabat pn./a./kin. '(third person plural) / (plurality) / brother (avoidance term)' <E all + about.

olgaman n. 'woman, old woman' <E old + woman.

olredi v.a. '(completive aspect)' <E already.

orait conj. 'then, alright' <E alright.

[**oredi** v.a. '(completive)' <E already.[]

orla a. 'all' <E all + the.

[**peipa** n. 'paper' <E paper.]

perrish v. 'to be hungry' <E perrish.

pijin n. 'pidgin English, Kriol, Cape York Creole, Tok Pisin (et al)' <E pidgin.

pikanini (light form of **biginini**) [see **biginini**].

[**pikanini** n. 'child <Portuguese pequeno via Beach-la-mar or <E piccaninny.]

[**pinis** v.a. '(completive)' <E finish.]

pipul n. 'pipul' <E pipul.

[**plenti** d.pn. 'some' <E plenty.]

poisinwan a. 'poisonous' <E poison + one.

prapa a./adv. 'proper / very' <E proper.

rabish n./kin 'rubbish / sister (avoidance term)' <E rubbish.

raidap adv. 'near, right to' <E right + up.

raisin n. 'leavening agent' <E raising.

ranat v. 'to run out of' <E run + out.

riba n. 'river' <E river.

riba gowena n.ph. 'species of goanna that lives near running water' <E water + goanna.

[**riva** n. 'river' <E river.]

Ropa name 'Roper River, Ngukurr' <E Roper.

sabi v. 'to know, understand' <Portuguese saber via Beach-la-mar or English savvy.

sambala d.pn./n. 'some / examples' <E some + fellow.

san kin. 'son, brother's son' <E son.

savi v. 'to know, understand' <Portuguese saber via Beach-la-mar or English savvy.]

sen gowena n.ph. 'species of goanna that lives in sandy country' <E sand + goanna.

shop n. 'store, shop' <E shop.

shuga n. 'sugar' <E sugar.

shugabeg [see **shugabeig**].

shugabeig n. 'wild honey' <E sugar + bag.

sidan v. 'to be, to camp, to stay, to sit' <E sit down.

silip v. 'to sleep' <E sleep.

sineik n. 'snake' <E snake.

sinek (heavy form of **sineik**) [see **sineik**].

[**singaut** v. 'to bark' <E sing + out.]

sista kin. 'sister, female parallel cousin' <E sister.

siyim v. 'to see' <E see + him.

skin n. 'kinship subsection' <E skin.

smok n. 'smoke, cigarette' <E smoke.

sneik. (light form of **sineik**) [see **sineik**].

[**stil** v.a. '(continuative)' <E still.]

streit a. 'straight, correct relation for marriage' <E straight.

strit tok n.ph. 'street talk, incorrect speech' <E street + talk.

[**susu** a. 'sweet' <Malay.]

swit a. 'sweet' <E sweet.

swit ti. n.ph. 'tea with sugar' <E sweet + tea.

tabega n. 'tobacco' <E tobacco.

taid n. 'tide' <E tide.

taim n. 'time, tense' <E time.

taim wed n.ph. 'tense marker' <[see **taim** and **wed**].

taipen n. 'taipan snake' <E taipan.

taka (western dialects) [see **daga**].

[**talinga** n. 'ear' <Malay.]

tap n. 'summit, upper part, high ground' <E top.

tap gowena n.ph. 'species of goanna that lives in timbered country' <E top + goanna.

[**teik-im** v. 'to take' <E take + him.]

tharran d.pn. 'that' <E that + one.

tharrei adv. 'that way' <E that + way.

thing (light form of **ting**) [see **ting**].

thribala a. 'three' <E three + fellow.

ti n. 'tea, cup of tea' <E tea.

tideina v.a. '(immediate future aspect)' <E today + now.

tilif n. 'tea' <E tealeaf.

ting n. 'thing' <E thing.

tok v. 'to speak, to say' <E talk.

[**trai** v.a. '(attemptive)' <E try.]

wada n. 'water' <E water.

wada gowena n.ph. 'species of goanna that lives near water' <E water + goanna.

wadi n. 'tree, stick' <old NSW Aboriginal language.

waif kin. 'wife' (light Kriol) <E wife.

wataim q. 'when' <E what + time.

wataim wed n.ph. 'temporal preposition' <[see **wataim** and **wed**].

Wamut kin. '(male subsection name)' (eastern dialects) <Arnhem Land languages.

Wamutjan kin. '(female subsection name)' (eastern dialects) <Arnhem Land languages.

wan, wanbala a. 'one, a' <E one ± fellow.

[**wanwan** v.a. '(sequentive)' <? E one + one.]

wed n. 'word, story' <E word.

weya conj. 'when' <E where.

wi pn. '(first person plural)' <E we.

wibin pn. + v.a. '(first person plural **wi** + past tense **bin**)' <E we + been.

[**win** n. 'wind' <E wind.]

wip sneik n.ph. 'species of non-poisonous snake' <E whip + snake.

wujei q. 'where' <E which + way.

wujeiwujei q. 'how' <E which + way + which + way.

wujeiwujei wed n.ph. 'adverb' <[see **wujeiwujei** and **wed**].

yarlbun n. 'water lily, water lily seedpod' (eastern dialects) <Roper languages.

yelabala n. 'part-Aboriginal' <E yellow + fellow.

yelawan a. 'yellow' <E yellow + one.

yelawan frog n.ph. 'species of frog' <E yellow + one + frog.

yem n. 'yam' <E yam.

yet v.a. '(continuative aspect)' <E yet.

[**yet** v.a. '(continuative)' <E yet.]

Yirritja kin. '(moiety name)' (eastern dialects) <Arnhem Land languages.

yu pn. '(second person singular)' <E you.

yubala pn. '(second person plural)' <E you + fellow.

yumob pn. '(second person plural)' (mainly Roper dialect) <E you + mob.

yuwai int. 'yes' <old Qld Aboriginal language.

APPENDIX 2

RESOURCE GUIDE TO KRIOL

Kriol has been fairly extensively documented, although much research remains to be done. [For a survey of literature on other varieties of English-related Aboriginal speech throughout Australia, see Sandefur (1983e).] Initial surveys to determine the status and virility of Kriol were carried out by Wood (1972) and Sandefur (1973a, 1973b) in the Roper River area. More recent surveys to determine the extent of Kriol have been carried out by Sandefur and Sandefur (1979a, 1980) in the Kimberleys; Sandefur, Gumbuli, Daniels and Wurramara (1980, 1982) in Queensland; and Glasgow (1984) in the Barkly Tableland area. Most of the information from these surveys has been included in general form in this book. For additional detail the reader is referred to the respective survey report.

A brief general sketch of the grammar of Kriol is provided by Sharpe (1983), with a more detailed account provided by Sandefur (in preparation). The Ngukurr dialect has been very briefly sketched by Sharpe (1975), Sharpe and Sandefur (1976, 1977), and Sandefur (1981b), with the phonology, morphology and syntax of the Ngukurr and Barunga [formerly Bamyili] dialects more extensively described by Sandefur (1979). Syntax and reduplication in the Barunga dialect has also been described by Steffensen (1977a, 1977b, 1979a). Aspects of the phonology and syntax of the Fitzroy Valley dialect have been described by Fraser (1974, 1977a), verb structure by Hudson (1983c), and aspects of grammar and semantics more extensively described by Hudson (1983a). No practical analytical materials for use in the classroom are yet available.

The continuum nature of Kriol has been discussed by Sandefur (1982a, 1982b, 1983a). A study of speech variation in the social context has been made by Jernudd (1971). Aspects of variation and multilingualism are detailed by Sandefur and Harris (forthcoming) and Harris and Sandefur (forthcoming). Sections of Davidson (1976, 1977), Fraser (1977a), Hudson (1983a), Sandefur et al (1982) and Meehan (1983) are also relevant to variation. Linguistic change in Kriol through time has been briefly discussed by Sandefur (1975, 1981d, forthcoming b). Discussion of language planning issues is provided by Sandefur (1984e, forthcoming c). Aspects of the changing function of Kriol has been discussed by Sandefur (1982c, 1982d), and the Aboriginality of Kriol has been argued by Sandefur (1981a, 1981f) and Roberts and Sandefur (1982). McConvell (1983) provides a set of hypotheses regarding creolization in North Australia. The relation of Kriol to other English-based languages and dialects currently spoken by Aborigines is briefly discussed by Sandefur (1983d) and Kaldor and Malcolm (1982). Most of the relevant information in all of these items has been included in general form in this book.

Comparison of Kriol with traditional Aboriginal language is provided by Richards and Fraser (1975), Hudson (1977, 1983a), Sharpe (1983), and in part by Sandefur (1979). Comparison with English is provided by Sharpe (1974b), and in part by Sandefur (1979).

The historical relation of Kriol amongst South Pacific pidgins and creoles is discussed by Clark (1979) and Harris (1984a), with other aspects of history provided by Sandefur (1981d), Harris (1981, forthcoming), Dutton (1983), Hudson (1983a) and Hudson and McConvell

(1984). A detailed account of the early development of Kriol in the Northern Territory is provided by Harris (1984a).

Kriol word lists have been compiled by Sharpe (1976a), Fraser (1977b), Sandefur and Sandefur (1979b) and Hudson (1981). A study of homophony is provided by Rumsey (1983), an example of lexical expansion by Steffensen (1979b), and a brief comment on Kriol colour terms by Hargrave (1982). The only readily available 'dictionary' of Kriol is Sandefur and Sandefur (1979b). Compilation of a fuller dictionary, which will incorporate all of the above items, is currently being undertaken by Noreen Pym of SIL. Computerized printouts will hopefully be available in the not too distant future.

A brief survey of the use of Kriol in education is provided by Sandefur (1982e) and Harris and Sandefur (1983, 1984). Recommendations and submissions for education programs using Kriol have been made by Sharpe (1974a), Steffensen (1975), Thompson (1976), Davidson (1977), Kulkarriya Community School (1979) and Hudson (1983b). A discussion of the literacy component of the Barunga School Kriol bilingual education program is provided by Meehan (1981), a set of teacher's manuals have been written by Gale (1983a, 1983b, 1984), and an evaluation of the program undertaken by Murtagh (1979, 1982). A sketch of the Yiyili School Kriol program is provided by Hudson (1984). An evaluation of the Kriol writing system is provided by Sandefur (1984b), with various aspects of the system being described by Sandefur (1983b, 1984c). Readers interested in the use of Kriol in education are referred in particular to Meehan (1981), and those interested in writing Kriol are referred in particular to Sandefur (1984c).

The need for translating/interpreting services in Kriol is provided by Brennan (1979) and Hudson and McConvell (1984). Aspects of the Kriol Bible translation project are discussed by Sandefur (1981e, 1984e), Rivers (1982), Harris (1984b) and Pym and Sandefur (forthcoming). Annual reports of work being undertaken in Kriol by the Summer Institute of Linguistics are provided by SIL (1980, 1981, 1982).

Before the Barunga School Kriol bilingual program was established, there were no published books in Kriol. Barunga Press has since published over 300 titles in Kriol. In addition, over 80 titles have been published by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Wycliffe Bible Translators, The Bible Society, the School of Australian Linguistics and others. Although at the end of 1984 Kriol could lay claim to having almost 400 published titles, in addition to numerous one-off books, Kriol literature production is still in its infancy. The vast majority of the titles published thus far are directly related to the Barunga bilingual program and church related ministries. As Davidson (1977:21) has pointed out, one of the great lacks is adult literature. For adults interested in secular material there is very little to read in Kriol. (See note 46 for details of Kriol literature.)

A bibliography of the incipient Kriol literature has been compiled by Sandefur (1981c, 1984d). While many of the older titles are now out of print, there is a fairly large selection of Kriol titles currently available from Barunga Press, the Summer Institute of Linguistics and The Bible Society. Secular titles include traditional stories, experience stories and Kriol translations of classic children's stories. Biblical titles include story books, comic books and scripture. In addition to books, Barunga Press puts out a local 'newspaper' which includes items in Kriol. Many of these items can be purchased from their respective publishers, the addresses of which are given at the end of this guide.

A Kriol language learning course for people desiring to learn to speak Kriol has been prepared by Sandefur and Sandefur (1981) in the Ngukurr dialect. This course, consisting of a manual and six cassettes, is available from the Summer Institute of Linguistics for $25.

Over fifty video programs in and about Kriol have been produced by WBT Media Australia. These include: *Kriol Kantri*, a forty episode series of half-hour programs in Kriol based on the 'Playschool' and 'Sesame Street' concepts; a ten minute *Kriol Kantri* promotional program; *Skul Gadim Kriol*, a twenty-five minute program in English on the Kriol bilingual program at Bamyili [now Barunga] School; *Schools of the Roper*, a fifteen minute program in English and Kriol on the Ngukurr and associated outstation schools; *Thri Biligut* and *Thesdi Sen Brog*, two programs, ten and five minutes respectively, of Queenie Brennan from Bamyili reading two Kriol books; *Nalawan Spiya*, a ten minute program in Kriol of Brian Dan Daniels from Ngukurr talking about spears and traditional culture; *Buk Blanga Kriol*, a ten minute program in English on the production of Kriol literature; *Cinderella Comes of Age*, a ten minute program in English on SIL's role in the Kriol Bible translation project; *Roper River Church Service*, a twenty minute program mostly in Kriol of a church service at Ngukurr with a sermon by Michael Gumbuli; *Wallace and Dorothy Dennis*, a ten minute program of a Kriol scripture reading and short teaching; *Costello Outstation Testimonies*, a twenty-five minute program in Kriol of several testimonies from Christians at one of Ngukurr's outstations; *Bamyili Church Service and Testimonies*, a twenty-five minute program mostly in Kriol of a church service at Barunga with a sermon by Nero Timothy followed by several testimonies; and *Cain and Abel*, a five minute program in Kriol of Rosy Milingwanga from Barunga telling a Bible story. Details of the production of the *Kriol Kantri* series is provided by Sandefur (1983g, 1984f, forthcoming a).

A number of Kriol cassettes are also available. Most of these are biblical in nature and are available from the United Aborigines Mission. They include songs, sermons and teachings in Kriol as well as the reading of Kriol scriptures, Bible story books and Bible comics. There are also a few secular Kriol cassettes available, mostly from the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The secular cassettes are mainly the reading of published Kriol books.

Most of the above mentioned items are available from their respective publishers/producers or through local agents:

Barunga [Bamyili] Press, PMB 117, Katherine N.T. 5780, phone 089-75 4502 — secular books and curriculum

The Bible Society, P.O. Box 39061, Winnellie N.T. 5789, phone 089-85 1096 — biblical books

The School of Australian Linguistics, P.O. Batchelor N.T. 5791, phone 089-76 0026 — some materials and training

The Summer Institute of Linguistics, P.O. Berrimah N.T. 5788, phone 089-84 4021 — assorted materials

United Aborigines Mission, P.O. Box 926, Geraldton W.A. 6530, phone 099-21 4996 — biblical cassettes

WBT Media Australia, Graham Road, Kangaroo Ground Vic. 3097, phone 03-712 0208 — video programs

Wycliffe Bible Translators, P.O. Berrimah N.T. 5788, phone 089-84 4021 — biblical materials

APPENDIX 3

NON-ABORIGINAL INVOLVEMENT IN KRIOL

The purpose of this appendix is to provide a basically chronological documentation of deliberate attempts to utilize and develop Kriol during the last two decades. The spontaneous utilization and development of Kriol by Kriol speakers has been dealt with in the body of this book. I will, therefore, focus here on activities instigated primarily by non-Aboriginal people. I shall not concern myself, however, with the influences and consequences of these activities on Kriol and Kriol speakers, for I have already discussed their effects at appropriate places throughout the body of the book. Nor shall I deal here with 'negative' activities, i.e. those which work to ridicule Kriol, thwart Kriol activities, undermine the self-confidence of Kriol speakers, or (supposedly) hasten the demise of Kriol. Such activities have been adequately referred to within the body of the book.

It is not possible in an appendix such as this to fully document all Kriol activities that have been implemented by non-Aboriginal people, for not only is there a constraint on space available, but it is also impossible for me to be aware of and knowledgeable about all that anyone does with regard to Kriol. What is set out below is the situation as I know it. I apologize to those people who have been active in this field but of whom I am not aware and have therefore not mentioned. I also apologize to those whom I have included but who feel upon reading this appendix that I have not given them due credit for their activities. I have tried to give credit wherever credit is due, but I acknowledge my shortcomings in obviously not being as aware of the extent and importance of everyone else's efforts as I am of my own and of the people associated with me in my work.

It was implied at the beginning of chapter five that very little Kriol language planning took place prior to the Australian Government's announcement of its bilingual education policy in 1972. Indeed, serious study of Kriol prior to that announcement was virtually limited to Robert Hall's brief description in 1943, which was based on citations in Phyllis Kaberry's book Aboriginal Woman: Sacred and Profane, the research for which was carried out in the Kimberleys in the 1930s.

The late 1960s brought an improvement in the language planning situation for Kriol at three locations — at Roper River, at Barunga [formerly Bamyili], and in the Fitzroy Valley area of the Kimberleys.

In 1966 Margaret Sharpe (nee Cunningham), under the auspices of SIL, began research on the Alawa language in the Roper River area. She very quickly became aware of the presence and significance of Kriol in that area. The following year she reported on the language to the then Welfare Branch of the Northern Territory Administration in an attempt to gain official recognition for Kriol. This is the first known attempt to get official governmental recognition for the language. At the same time she and Mary Harris of the Church Missionary Society [hereafter CMS] developed and mimeographed a "Roper River Pidgin English Primer" and held literacy classes for a small number of Kriol speakers. The significance of this Sharpe-Harris project lies in the fact that, although Kriol had long been used anecdotally in books for English readers (see note 15), this was the first attempt to develop a phonemic orthography for the language and extend its use to include literacy for the speakers themselves.

That same year Björn Jernudd undertook research funded by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies [hereafter AIAS] on Aboriginal speech variation at Bagot, Oenpelli and Barunga. While at Barunga he spoke with council members about the role of Aboriginal languages and the choice of school language and found the people favourably inclined to the suggestion that Kriol be introduced as the language of instruction in the first grade. During 1968/69 when John Harris was principal at Barunga, the first Aboriginal Teaching Assistant, David Jentian, used Kriol informally with the younger school children. This was done with the unofficial approval of Ted Robertson, now a Senator who was then Inspector of Schools.

Also in 1967 Joyce Hudson and Eirlys Richards, under the auspices of SIL, went to Fitzroy Crossing to begin work on the Walmajarri language. A few years later they began to report that "pidgin" was spoken in the area (e.g. Richards and Hudson 1973, Hudson and Richards 1974).

In 1972 the stage was set for the real beginnings of Kriol language planning. Two significant events took place: SIL carried out a general language survey that resulted in my being assigned to survey the Kriol situation, and the Australian Government announced their bilingual education policy for Aboriginal children in the Northern Territory. These two events were indicative of things to come, for most activities relating to Kriol that were instigated by non-Aboriginal people have either revolved around education or resulted from the catalystic effect of the SIL program.

Because of the close cooperation between SIL and the government (or more specifically, the N.T. Department of Education upon which the brunt of implementation of the government policy fell), it is difficult to discuss the Kriol activities of the one without reference to the other. Several major differences between the two are notable, however. In general, SIL involvement has been very widespread and broadly based, whereas the Department of Education's has been very localized. The Department has focused almost totally on one community — Barunga. SIL, on the other hand, works directly with Kriol speakers in about a dozen communities on a regular basis and has periodic contact with speakers in several dozen other communities. Unlike the Department of Education, SIL has also directed some of its Kriol activities toward the wider Australian population as well as mission and church entities, both European and Aboriginal.

While government policy has been formulated mainly in relation to the work of the Department of Education, it has indirectly also affected other government departments by authorizing the use of Aboriginal languages. The government policy, of course, was not directed specifically towards Kriol. The era of language planning that the policy ushered in has simply resulted in Kriol being given essentially the same consideration as that given to traditional Aboriginal languages. Thus many of the government's activities relating to Kriol, such as the curriculum development or translation of social security information mentioned in chapter five, are simply the follow-through of activities directed toward Aboriginal languages in general.

In September and October of 1972, Ray Wood, under the auspices of SIL, undertook a general language survey of the Katherine, Barunga, Roper River and Numbulwar areas. He was accompanied on this survey by Graham McKay, then a post-graduate student at the Australian National University carrying out research on the Rembarrnga language. Wood recommended in his survey report that "Roper Pidgin" should not only be regarded as worthy of an SIL program but that "some priority" should be given to it. A few days before the government's announcement of the bilingual education policy, SIL assigned me to undertake a survey specifically looking at Kriol in the Roper River and Barunga areas in the light of Wood's findings and recommendations.

In 1973 non-Aboriginal involvement in Kriol increased significantly. In March I went to Ngukurr to spend two months immersing myself in Kriol. While I was at Ngukurr the question of "this pidgin English", which I mentioned in chapter five, was raised at one of the first meetings of the Department of Education's bilingual advisory group in Darwin. Dave Glasgow, the Director of SIL, was a member of the group and informed the meeting that I was at Ngukurr looking into the situation. The following month a community meeting was held at Ngukurr to discuss the bilingual education issue. Although I was present at that meeting, I was an outsider just beginning to learn about Kriol and thus played a totally passive role.

In mid-1973 the Department of Education held a meeting with the council at Barunga. In addition to their own personnel, the Department requested that Dave Glasgow, Ray Wood and myself be present and participate in that meeting because of our corporate knowledge of the language situation relevant to the area.

During the next few months I continued my survey of the Kriol situation by travelling throughout the Roper River and Barunga-Mainoru areas. When I arrived at Barunga in August, Holt Thompson, the principal of the school, surprised me with his keen support and his appreciation of my presence. I understood that he had been "dead set against" the use of Kriol in school as had been suggested at the afore mentioned Department meeting with the Barunga council. He had, however, later come to accept the idea and was now eager to find out all he could about Kriol so he could press on with getting approval to implement a Kriol bilingual program in the school. However, that same month, at their first meeting, the Bilingual Education Consultative Committee [hereafter BECC] said insufficient linguistic research had been carried out to establish that Kriol was indeed the children's first language or that its use in school would have the support of the community. They therefore deferred a decision on the matter until the following year.

At the conclusion of my survey in August, SIL acted upon my recommendation that they implement a full SIL program in Kriol. SIL assigned me to undertake the long term Kriol program, a project which by definition included becoming fluent in Kriol, phonological and grammatical analysis, the compilation and publication of a dictionary, the development of an orthography, the preparation of literacy materials, conducting literacy classes, encouraging Aboriginal writers, and the translation of the New Testament and portions of the Old Testament.

It should be noted that most planned activities relating to Kriol for the rest of the decade were restricted to the Roper River and Barunga areas. The SIL program, under my management, initially concerned itself only with Ngukurr, Barunga and the two dozen or so cattle station communities in the area, representing about 2000 Kriol speakers. I suspected, in large part because of correspondence in 1974 with Neil Chadwick, that Kriol extended also southward to the Barkly Tableland. I was content, however, to occupy myself with the more restricted area. It was not until I helped carry out Kriol surveys in 1979 and 1980 that I came to fully realize that Kriol is spoken by some 20,000 Aborigines in over 250 communities in three states. Although Jill Fraser, under the auspices of SIL, undertook a short study of the "pidgin" spoken by children at Fitzroy Crossing, we did not know enough to realize they were dialects of the one language. From then until I surveyed the Kimberleys myself in 1979, I had it firmly fixed in my mind that "Roper River Creole" and "Kimberley pidgin" were two separate languages. The N.T. Department of Education somewhat similarly initially operated with a restricted vision, considering Kriol to be applicable only to the schools at Ngukurr and Barunga. I pointed out in chapter five that, as far as I have been able to ascertain, the Department has since only slightly broadened its vision so as to include Beswick as a potential community for a Kriol bilingual school program.

One activity relating to Kriol, however, that has not been restricted to the Roper River-Barunga area has been my campaign to disseminate information about Kriol throughout the wider Australian community and thereby not only to make Kriol a "common household word" but to instill more positive attitudes toward Kriol among Anglo-Australians. In pursuance of this objective, as the bibliography of this book shows, I have since published widely on Kriol, not only in scholarly journals but also in journals more accessible to the general public. Thus it is that some people immediately associate Kriol with my name. At the same time, a close look at the bibliography or the resource guide, however, will also show that I am not the only one who has been researching and publishing on Kriol, especially during the last few years. Those who have been particularly influential in terms of the objective stated above, not only through their publications but also through their personal advocacy of Kriol, include Gloria Brennan (Department of Aboriginal Affairs), John Harris (Darwin Institute of Technology), Joyce Hudson (SIL), Dorothy Meehan (N.T. Department of Education), Ed Murtagh (N.T. Department of Education) and Margaret Sharpe (Armidale College of Advanced Education). None of the above persons speak Kriol as their primary language (see note 4), although Brennan is an Aboriginal. In addition to their efforts, those of a Kriol speaker, Eric Roberts, rates special mention here. His submission to and presentation before the National Language Policy inquiry, which was an outgrowth of his involvement in the Aboriginal Languages Association, was a significant development in the realm of getting Kriol speakers to speak up for their own language. Adding to the momentum in this whole area in the last few years has been the inclusion of sections on Kriol in such works as Dixon's The Languages of Australia and Eagleson, Kaldor and Malcolm's English and the Aboriginal Child.

In 1974 a new school teacher, Dorothy Meehan, arrived at Barunga. Meehan had taught for a number of years in Papua New Guinea. Because of her exposure to New Guinea Pidgin, she was able to assess very quickly the Kriol situation at Barunga and see the applicability of a bilingual program. In spite of the opposition she encountered when she approached the Department of Education about implementing a Kriol program, she and Holt Thompson decided to continue pushing for it. About the same time Graham Davidson carried out research at Barunga for his Ph.D. thesis. His research, in part, involved the study of the children's speech and he was able to contribute informally to discussions regarding Kriol and the school program. (Davidson made a formal contribution when he returned in 1977 to do additional research funded by AIAS.) The community made a decision in favour of a bilingual program and the council gave written approval for the use of Kriol in the pre-school.

Consideration was also being given to using Kriol in the school at Ngukurr. Margaret Sharpe (then no longer with SIL) made a visit to

Ngukurr at the request of the N.T. Department of Education and submitted a report to BECC supporting implementation of a Kriol bilingual program in the school. At the Department's request, I joined Maria Brandl, Senior Education Advisor (Anthropology) with the Department, in holding discussions with the community later in the year. A decision was made by the community that Kriol should be used, although the principal of the school was not in favour of such a program. The question of whether or not to have literacy in Kriol was not clarified.

In the middle of 1974 Geoffrey O'Grady and Kenneth Hale carried out a study for the Department of the language and school situation throughout the Northern Territory. As was mentioned in chapter five, in their report they specifically addressed the question of Kriol in recommendation seventeen, saying that the bilingual principle "applies no less in the case of a child whose language is creole". They recommended that Kriol be used orally in the initial stages of education and that the question of Kriol literacy be further studied. In response to the various reports and recommendations, BECC recommended at their November meeting that oral programs be implemented at the pre-school level in the Barunga and Ngukurr schools in 1975.

In the meantime I was beginning to move ahead, with some assistance from Margaret Sharpe, with the development of an orthography for Kriol. This was part of the standard SIL routine and a direct outgrowth of the basic language research and phonological analysis that I was undertaking.

Outside the education realm, the Bible Society in late 1974 decided to give its support to Kriol, in spite of doubts expressed by the Society's linguistic advisor assessing the long term prospects for the language. In a letter dated the 12th of November, Euan Fry, the Translations Secretary, stated: "I should add that from the Bible Society point of view, whatever the long term prospects for a language may be, we are ready to publish in the language if it communicates the Word of God effectively to people for the present and the near future." The involvement of the Bible Society in Kriol, as can be seen from the Kriol bibliography (Sandefur 1984d), has been primarily one of publisher of biblical material.

Most activities related to Kriol in 1975 were taking place at Barunga in conjunction with the school program. An oral program was implemented in the pre-school and groundwork was beginning to be laid for extending the program to include Kriol literacy. Holt Thompson and David Jentian (an Aboriginal teacher and mother-tongue Kriol speaker) surveyed every family group at Barunga and established that the community supported the use of Kriol in the school. Margaret [Peg] Steffensen, supported in part by a grant from AIAS, made a study of the Kriol situation at Barunga and in her report supported the use of Kriol in initial literacy. In the meantime some Kriol stories written by David Jentian were beginning to appear in the community newspaper Murranga, which had been started by one of the teachers, Tony Connors. Jentian had started writing Kriol stories as a result of the linguistic training he had received at the School of Australian Linguistics [hereafter SAL] as part of his teacher training. In August at their fourth meeting, BECC recommended "that with the community's agreement on a literacy program in Creole, 1976 be spent as a year of preparation of resources and materials, and the program be considered for full implementation in 1977."

The situation at Ngukurr, however, was not faring so well. Maria Brandl and I visited the community in August to hold discussions regarding the use of Kriol in a literacy program. What we found, as was noted in chapter five, was an essentially defunct oral program due to the lack of support and organization on the part of the principal and non-Aboriginal staff. The program never got off the ground.

That year it was becoming evident that the recognition and acceptance of Kriol was beginning to spread. The first issue of the now defunct New Darwin newspaper on 26 August 1975 carried an article about Kriol and mentioned David Jentian's stories in Murranga. Who was responsible for the article I do not know. The article, reproduced here, was unsigned:

> LETA STIK is the name of this page. It's Pidgin or more correctly Creole for Message Stick, the traditional Aboriginal way of getting the message across from one place to another.
>
> We could have called the page Dhawumirri Dharpa, the name for Message Stick in the coastal Gupapuyngu language, or Dalh, which is the same thing in the language of the people at Bamyily [sic] near Katherine.
>
> And there are another score or so of tribal languages to choose from which would have been understood by separate groups throughout the Northern Territory.
>
> But, it's a little known fact that Creole is spoken throughout a vast area of Northern Australia stretching from Western Australia to Queensland.
>
> It's a lingua franca that has been evolved by the Aboriginal people thrown together in assorted conglomerations on cattle stations, missions and towns following the arrival of the White man.
>
> The authorities are reluctant to help popularise it in case they are accused of bastardising the spoken Aboriginal word.
>
> But what has happened has happened and indeed there are some communities where only Creole is spoken.
>
> It's a language spoken by mothers to their children and hence the name Creole; not Pidgin which is a language used for trade and barter.
>
> In other words, for many people it is their first language, their mother tongue.
>
> A noted American linguist who has conducted surveys on Aboriginal Creole said that it was definitely a language of its own, with its own structures and grammar.
>
> He tape recorded a speech in Creole by an old man in Western Australia and played it back to a young man at Bamyily [sic] near Katherine.
>
> The young man understood perfectly. He even mistook the man for an elderly acquaintance in the neighborhood!
>
> The young man, David Jentian (Tribal name Nangangolod) is a teacher at the Bamyily [sic] Aboriginal Settlement and one of the men helping produce MURRANGA, a superbly produced community neswpaper at Bamyily [sic].
>
> David writes articles in Creole for MURRANGA (Fire Stick) and has also written books in Creole for the Education Department.
>
> Another teacher, European Tony Connors, set up the newspaper, which, we understand, has become so popular that it is likely that it will be handed over to the Bamyily [sic] Aboriginal council as its official organ.

Interest began to be shown in Kriol outside the Roper and Barunga communities. Late in the year a CMS missionary at Numbulwar wrote and asked me for materials to help him learn Kriol so he could better communicate with the Aboriginal people there. This was the first of many requests for Kriol language learning lessons.

It was during this time that I began to function as a linguistic consultant to schools interested in Kriol programs, a role that I still play to a small degree. As I have indicated above, the N.T. Department of Education had from the beginning of the bilingual education program called me in on community meetings regarding the use of Kriol in school, especially on those at Ngukurr where I was residing most of the time. Between such meetings I concerned myself primarily with continuing the language learning and linguistic research and analysis tasks required by SIL, talking at length with whoever showed interest in Kriol (notably Max Schenk, the Aborigines Inland Mission [hereafter AIM] missionary at Barunga), and offering my services to the Ngukurr and Barunga schools. The Ngukurr school did not take up my offer, but the Barunga school began to occupy more and more of my time. I began travelling back and forth between Ngukurr and Barunga on a fortnightly basis. Eventually I moved in 1976 to Barunga to give the school my concentrated attention as they made plans and preparations for the implementation of a full Kriol bilingual program the following year.

The brunt of the planning and materials preparation for the Barunga program fell upon Dorothy Meehan. She was appointed teacher-linguist for the Barunga program and relieved of her normal teaching duties. During this time Holt Thompson was away studying, his contribution to the program being a dissertation on the rationale for using Kriol in a bilingual program at Barunga. As mentioned in note 3, one of Thompson's major contributions to Kriol was the discontinuation of the term 'pidgin' from official school use and the introduction of the use of the term 'creole', later spelt 'Kriol' when the orthography had been worked out. Giving the language the name 'Kriol' has since been described to me by several government and mission personnel working in Aboriginal affairs as a "brilliant" move, for as 'pidgin' it was nothing, but as 'Kriol' it was an identifiable language.

Meehan's task of preparing materials for the program was not lacking in problems (cf. Sharpe 1974a, Meehan 1981) because of the nature of Kriol. After a great deal of consideration, and a meeting with Margaret Bendor-Samuel of the international-level literacy office of SIL that helped to crystallize her ideas, Meehan decided to adopt a multi-strand, thematic approach to the program. (See Meehan (1981) for details.) The Kriol content of the program was basically provided by Aboriginal teaching assistants, Kriol literacy workers and direct observation of the children's speech.

My role at Barunga was primarily to advise Meehan on linguistic points as well as hold seminars on Kriol with teachers. I still continue to consult with the school on linguistic matters occasionally, but the seminars were discontinued after a few years. I also assisted in the production of general reading material in those early years, primarily by teaching Danny Jentian, the first of many Kriol literacy workers employed by the Department of Education, and several others how to write their language. Danny Jentian and his brother David Jentian became particularly involved in the development of the Kriol orthography. Eight Aboriginal-authored Kriol booklets were published by the Barunga school press that year.

While all this activity was taking place at Barunga, attempts were being made to revive the Kriol bilingual program at Ngukurr. Allister Drummond, the new principal, was dissatisfied with the academic results of the school's English-only program and sought to implement a full Kriol program. The council supported him and sent a letter to the Director of the Department of Education requesting that a literacy program in Kriol be run at the school.

My input to the program at Ngukurr was initially limited to correspondence with Drummond primarily on orthographic matters. In my letter to him I stated: "One of the ground rules that we operate on here [i.e. at Barunga], and one which I think is very important in regard to both Aborigines and Europeans because of the 'socio-political implications' of Creole ... is that the Creole literacy/literature programme must be the Aborigines' programme - not ours." I still operate under that basic principle; that is, I will help Kriol speakers with a given task (such as writing a Kriol story or translating the Scriptures), but I will not do it totally by myself for them.

The school at Ngukurr began to establish their program, with Warren Hastings functioning as an unofficial teacher-linguist. At his instigation ten Kriol speakers from Ngukurr undertook studies at SAL under the tutorship of David Zorc. I repeatedly pointed out the need for close cooperation between the Ngukurr and Barunga schools in the development of literacy materials. In November 1976 a concerted effort was made to sort out some of the orthography problems and coordinate orthographic development between the two schools. In conjunction with SIL, SAL held a month-long Kriol writers' course at Ngukurr, led by Zorc, that was attended by six Kriol writers from Barunga and about a dozen from Ngukurr. The orthographic conventions decided on by the participants of that course remained in effect until revised by a Kriol workshop at Barunga in 1982.

In addition to the Department of Education, the Department of Aboriginal Affairs [hereafter DAA] was beginning to make use of Kriol, primarily through the instigation of Reg Houldsworth, another Papua New Guinea expatriate. Houldsworth had become convinced that Kriol was understood throughout much of the Northern Territory. During 1976 he pushed two activities related to Kriol. Firstly, he arranged for David Daniels of Ngukurr to provide an oral translation of the second reading of the Aboriginal Land Rights Bill. Daniels, quite by accident, met me in Darwin and asked for my assistance, which I provided. Secondly, Houldsworth asked SIL to provide a Kriol language learning course for DAA field officers. In response to his request, SIL offered Kriol as one of the languages used in its course on language learning principles and techniques at the Summer School of Linguistics in Sydney at the end of the year. I organized the Kriol aspect of the course and Frank Ranch of Barunga was the Kriol speaker.

As was pointed out in chapter five, several other government departments have since followed the example set by DAA in having items translated into Kriol. The number of these items is very small — I did in fact list all I know of in the one paragraph in the 'Kriol and Information' section of chapter five. As far as I am aware, all of these items were ordered by non-Aboriginal officers in their respective departments. Several of the items were channelled by the departments to me and several to SAL, but I am not aware of whose work some of the other translations were. With the items that I handled, the actual Kriol translation was provided by a Kriol speaker. My primary function was to ensure that the Kriol speaker understood the English text. I also operated the tape recorder in the case of an oral translation and functioned as the spelling editor in the case of a written translation. As far as I know, David Zorc and Neil Chadwick have handled translations channelled through SAL in a similar way.

Another notable event, to me personally the most significant, that took place in August of 1976 was SIL assigning Joy Langsford to the Kriol project upon our marriage! Most of what I have done since in regard to

Kriol has been done with her cooperation, for she is as much involved in the work of SIL as I am.

The school at Barunga proceeded with the full implementation of their Kriol program in 1977. Gail Forbutt functioned as teacher-linguist in 1978 while Dorothy Meehan was on study leave. Meehan left Barunga at the end of 1980, being replaced by Kathy Gale who served in that position for three years, who in turn was followed by Margaret Allen. It is primarily these four people who have been responsible for directing the development of the school's program. This is not the place for a description of that program. (A short description is provided in note 162.) Suffice it to say that the reading scheme is well in hand, although there is still a need to enlarge the body of Kriol literature available to readers (see note 46 for more detail on the literature), and the Kriol curriculum is beginning to be broadened.

The Barunga school has directly concerned itself almost totally with only Barunga. My input from about 1977 onwards has continually decreased to the point where I now only provide a few days of consultation a year, with my input consisting mostly of informing the teacher-linguist of developments elsewhere that may have relevance to the Barunga program. I also try to keep abreast of developments at Barunga, especially in the materials production area. Because of the localized focus of most school programs, I see it as my task to help keep them informed of what is going on in other schools that may be of assistance to their programs. I am also concerned about and constantly working towards a unified approach to the orthographic and spelling standardization of Kriol.

The school at Ngukurr continued its literacy efforts in 1977, publishing three Kriol booklets. SAL also published several Kriol booklets by Ngukurr Kriol speakers, including a primer series edited by Hastings. The school's efforts ended there, however, for the entire school system broke down at the end of the year (for reasons completely unrelated to Kriol) and, as discussed in chapter four, was reorganized the following year. Since its reorganization the school staff and administration have yet to come to a decision regarding a Kriol language policy and program. I pointed out in chapters four and five, however, that they operate a defacto oral Kriol bilingual program which has developed spontaneously due to the fact that all classroom teachers are Kriol speakers.

In 1978 further activities relating to Kriol were begun in the church and mission realm. Barry and Lois Downes, missionaries with AIM, had moved to Barunga the year before and quickly became involved in using Kriol in their ministry. Not only did they begin learning Kriol and using it in their teaching ministry, but they began producing the Olabat broadsheet. Their Kriol work was reported on in AIM's official publication The AIM as well as the mission's Letterstick broadsheet that is distributed to Aboriginal Christians throughout Australia.

The Bible Society also became actively involved by conducting an Aboriginal Translators Training Workshop at Oenpelli. Lois Downes, my wife and I, and six Kriol speakers from Barunga and Ngukurr participated in the workshop, which was led by Euan Fry. It was at this workshop that the translation of selections of the Bible were undertaken for the first time.

It was also during 1978 that Joy and I began to undertake some informal literacy work at Ngukurr, with Joy taking a small class of non-literate women and I developing a series of English-to-Kriol transfer primers. When I had the primers drafted, I tested them with the Aboriginal teachers at the Ngukurr school. After revising the primers according to their comments, they were published by the Barunga Press. We also continued, as we still do, to encourage the development and distribution of Kriol literature.

The most significant event of 1979 was the survey conducted by Joy and myself of the so-called "Kimberley pidgin". The effects of that survey were amply discussed in chapter three and need not be recounted here. One of our survey 'techniques', however, that is not mentioned elsewhere, was to freely utilize and distribute Kriol literature. We tried to expose as many Kimberley Kriol speakers as possible to the material as part of our effort to raise the social standing of Kriol. By spreading the name 'Kriol' we hoped to help Kriol speakers realize that their speech was an identifiable language. We also spent much time talking with non-Aboriginal people about Kriol. As I mentioned in chapter five, younger teachers were especially open and accepting to "non-standard" forms of Aboriginal speech. In this respect the research of Ian Malcolm and Susan Kaldor of the University of Western Australia into the Aboriginal English speech of children in the Kimberleys a few years previously had laid a good foundation for our survey.

Our survey proved to be the catalyst, not only in effecting significant changes in the attitudes of Kriol speakers in much of the Kimberleys as was mentioned in chapter three, but also for bringing about a number of Kriol language planning activities in half a dozen communities. Since that survey, noteworthy events have taken place at Turkey Creek, Fitzroy Crossing, Noonkanbah, Yiyili, Halls Creek and Kununurra.

The month before we first stopped at Turkey Creek on our survey, Patrick McConvell of SAL visited the community as part of a consultation trip to the East Kimberleys. He discovered that the people were interested in bilingual/bicultural education using the traditional language of the area. Sr. Clare Ahern, the principal of the recently established Catholic community school, was keen to follow through with the community's desires. McConvell returned to Turkey Creek the next year and conducted an SAL course that helped the school get started in the production of traditional language materials. What our survey trip did was to make the school staff aware of the legitimacy of the children's first language (i.e. Kriol) and its potential role in the school program. For the next couple of years we called in on Turkey Creek to visit the school and community several times a year. On one of these visits the principal asked me to formally address the school council and discuss with them the concept of a trilingual program. As was noted in chapter five, a decision was ultimately made to implement such a program. SIL's role in that program has been and continues to be limited to our very brief and irregular visits and sending them a copy of each item of Kriol literature that SIL produces.

Before Joy and I were married, she had worked in the Fitzroy Crossing area for three years as a Walmajarri literacy teacher. As a result we were visited by many old friends when we went to Fitzroy Crossing on our survey. Some of the people Joy had previously taught to read Walmajarri now wanted to learn to read Kriol, so we began some informal Kriol literacy lessons. During this time Joyce Hudson and Eirlys Richards, the SIL translators working on Walmajarri, were away on leave. When they returned to Fitzroy Crossing, some of the people we had been teaching to read Kriol came to them for continuation of the literacy lessons, which they obligingly agreed to do. Doug Lockwood, the principal of the school, later requested Hudson and Richards to introduce Kriol literature to the school. In November they held a half-hour Kriol language and literature awareness lesson with eleven classes. As far as we know, this was the first time the school officially recognized that the children's speech was a language different from standard English. Interest in Kriol continues at the school but, as noted in chapter five, no official program has been forthcoming. Hudson and Richards have had so many requests from European for Kriol language learning lessons since then, however, that Hudson has assisted Bernadette Willian, a mother-tongue Kriol speaker, in setting up a course.

The findings of our survey of the Kimberleys caused much rethinking and re-evaluation by SIL of their role and involvement in Kriol. Hudson and Richards found that they had to immediately revise their language activity goals, for they found it impossible not to become involved in activities related to Kriol. Joy and I had to broaden our thinking, for we could no longer ignore Kriol speakers outside the Roper River-Barunga region. Instead of just travelling back and forth between Ngukurr and Barunga, we started travelling back and forth between Ngukurr and Fitzroy Crossing, distributing Kriol literature, talking with Aborigines and European about Kriol, and researching dialect variation.

One of the couples we talked with was Charles and Wilma Rhorbach, missionaries with the United Aborigines Mission [hereafter UAM] at Fitzroy Crossing who later moved to Kununurra. They have since been using Kriol in their ministry and teaching some Kriol literacy classes. Another person we held discussions with was Carolyn Davey, the principal of the school at Noonkanbah. As was pointed out in chapter five, the school considered using Kriol in their program but decided against it.

While Joy and I were occupied with surveying the Kriol situation in the Kimberleys, other activities related to Kriol were taking place elsewhere. SAL had an intake of new students that included more Kriol speakers and they worked on the lexical expansion exercise noted in chapter two. The Katherine Annex of what was then Darwin Community College offered a 'Pidgin and Creole Languages' course with Dorothy Meehan and Queenie Brennan, a Kriol speaker from Barunga, as lecturers. Allan Steel, the Adult Educator at Ngukurr, began the unsuccessful attempts referred to in chapter five and note 178 at getting funds for a Kriol literacy program.

Bible translation also received a boost in 1979. The AIM community church at Barunga sponsored a Bible Society Aboriginal Translators Training Workshop. Euan Fry again led the workshop, with Lois Downes, Joy and myself taking part. Several Kriol speakers from Ngukurr and Barunga and Rodney Rivers, a mother-tongue Kriol speaker from Halls Creek and Aboriginal Bible Fellowship [hereafter ABF] pastor, participated.

Interest in and concern about Kriol was beginning to spread far afield. In a letter to the director of SIL dated the 27th of December 1979, Wilf Douglas of the Language Department of UAM noted: "The ire of some Mission-trained Aborigines and some educators down here has been raised a little because Toby Metcalf introduced 'Fitzroy Crossing Kriol' at a seminar in Kalgoorlie. Some have got the idea that he wishes this form of speech to be used (instead of 'proper' English) at such places as Cundeelee and Mount Margaret." Douglas himself had found it "quite exciting" to hear about our discovery of Kriol in the Kimberleys. Not too long afterwards Kriol texts from the Kimberleys and the Northern Territory began to be used in linguistic assignments at the Mount Lawley Campus of the Western Australian College of Advanced Education.

In 1980, with the assistance of Brian Dan Daniels, Michael Gumbuli and Mal Wurramara (three Kriol speakers from the Ngukurr area), I undertook a survey of the Kriol situation in Queensland. The findings of the survey, not unexpectedly, did not significantly alter our view of the extent of Kriol. The only community in which the survey functioned as a catalyst for Kriol language planning was Doomadgee. As noted in chapter five, the school gave consideration to implementing a Kriol program but decided against it. I have not visited the community since then, but SIL continues to send them a copy of new Kriol publications. It is interesting to note that a Christmas card produced by the school for raising funds in 1980 included a Kriol text.

In addition to the Queensland survey, Joy and I continued with our 'normal' tasks as SIL workers. The previous year our 'grammar' and 'dictionary' had been published. I now turned my attention to the writing of many of the articles that were published in 1981 and 1982. We produced the Kriol cassette language learning course that was published by SIL in 1981. We also stepped up our production of Kriol literature. Working with Kriol speakers, we prepared almost two dozen booklets for publication, most of which were Bible story books that the Bible Society published. The first Kriol song book was also published. Most of the songs were translated by Kriol speakers, although a few of them were done by myself. Work on the translation of the Bible continued. The book of Ruth was finalized and published the following year by the Bible Society. Because this was the first book of the Bible to be available in Kriol, when it was off the press the Bible Society issued a news release that was picked up by ABC radio, several newspapers and a DAA newsbrief. In the meantime Rodney Rivers was making good progress on translating Genesis. We also began collecting original recordings of sermons and teaching in Kriol by Rivers and Michael Gumbuli, the Aboriginal rector of the Anglican church at Ngukurr, which were sent to Syd Williams of UAM for production and distribution through his cassette ministry. Several mission magazines began reporting on Kriol work, including ABF's In Fellowship and the Today magazine published by Mission Publications of Australia, the publishing arm of AIM and UAM.

In early 1981, at the founding conference of the Aboriginal Languages Association, the question of the status of Kriol arose. When it appeared that Kriol was not going to be recognized by the Association, Noreen Pym of SIL suggested to the conference that they not act too hastily on the matter without first hearing from a Kriol speaker. When Eric Roberts arrived, he spoke so persuasively about his language that the conference endorsed a statement that recognized "new Aboriginal languages such as Kriol".

In mid-1981 SIL temporarily assigned two additional personnel to the Kriol project: Charlotte DeKock and Lois Glass. DeKock spent time at Ngukurr, primarily gaining exposure to Kriol in anticipation of eventually working with creole speakers in Cape York Peninsula and the Torres Strait. Glass spent several months at Barunga primarily working with the school. Nero Timothy, an Aboriginal pastor from Borroloola who was temporarily pastoring the church at Barunga, requested Queenie Brennan, a Kriol speaker from Barunga with extensive experience in writing Kriol, to translate his weekly Bible study notes into Kriol. Brennan in turn requested Glass' assistance. When Timothy returned to Borroloola the next year, he was replaced by Andy and Thelma Gough who continued using Kriol in the church ministry.

It was also in mid-1981 that Roy Gwyther-Jones of WBT Media Australia and I produced a dozen video programs in and about Kriol. (Details of these are given in the resource guide.) Later in the year Joy and I held a Kriol Bible translation conference in Halls Creek in which we posed about a dozen key questions concerning various aspects of the translation project to a dozen Kriol speakers from Borroloola, Ngukurr and Halls Creek. Their responses shaped the direction we have since taken on certain issues.

In mid-1982 SIL assigned Annette Walker to the Kriol project as a literacy specialist. Walker spent about six months at Ngukurr primarily concerning herself with becoming fluent in Kriol after which she moved to Halls Creek where she undertook the establishment of a Kriol literacy operation with the assistance of Judith Knowles. Walker married in late 1984 and has been replaced by Margaret Mickan.

Before moving to Halls Creek, Annette Walker, Kathy Gale and myself participated in a Kriol orthography seminar at Barunga school. Kriol speaker participation was limited to the Barunga teachers and literacy workers. The purpose of the seminar was to try and find a solution to a number of problems that had surfaced since 1976 because of the additional dialects that needed to be taken into account and the much greater writing and reading experience of Kriol speakers. A number of changes to the orthographic conventions were agreed upon by the Aboriginal participants. Some of these conventions were slightly modified by a conference the following year. (Details of the issues involved and decisions made are provided in Sandefur (1984a).)

Towards the end of 1982 Joyce Hudson made several visits to Yiyili. The community had only recently started an independent school and was keen to be using the traditional language in their education program. Hudson's visit had been arranged by Robyn Dickinson, the principal, to provide opportunity for discussion with the school staff and community about the alternative ways of utilizing the traditional language in school. Hudson and Bill McGregor, a linguist who had been studying the traditional language, pointed out to the community the presence of Kriol. As a result the community began giving consideration to the use of Kriol in the school program in addition to the traditional language. As was mentioned in chapter five and note 169, a decision was made to implement a trilingual program. Hudson was employed as the linguist and helped implement the program the following year, with Annette Walker moving into the position in 1984.

Three significant events stand out in 1983: a Kriol Bible translation conference, the finalizing of the manuscript for a volume of Kriol scriptures, and the production of the Kriol Kantri video series.

In May SIL joined with the Bible Society in holding a two week conference at Halls Creek. Twelve Kriol speakers from Halls Creek, Yiyili, Fitzroy Crossing and Ngukurr participated. SIL participants were Annette Walker, Joyce Hudson and myself. Euan Fry represented the Bible Society. Other Europeans who participated included Rhonda Coates (a teacher at the AIM Bible college in Darwin), Charles and Wilma Rhorbach and, attending on a part time basis, Keith Ware (the UAM superintendent for the Kimberleys). The main purpose of the conference was threefold: to teach some of the basic principles of translation and translation reviewing, to improve the Kriol reading skills of the participants, and to try and reach a consensus regarding some of the problems in the translation project. Fry led the sessions on translation principles, Walker was in charge of the literacy sessions with Hudson assisting, and I led most of the 'problem' sessions. Most of the problems were related to dialect differences and concerned theological terminology and spelling conventions. The most significant question raised at the conference, however, was posed by Fry at the end of the first week. The Aboriginal participants were asked if they wanted one translation for all Kriol speakers, or a different translation for the major dialects. Upon reconvening after the weekend the Aboriginal participants unanimously chose to try one translation for all, with the proviso that they could change their minds in the future if the 'common language' translation proved through use to be unsatisfactory.

The translation of a significant portion of the Bible (namely Genesis, Ruth, selections from the Gospels, Philemon, Jude and Revelation) had been completed and was being finalized and prepared for publication. The consensus decisions of the conference on the terminology and spelling problems were applied to the manuscript. The Aboriginal participants also made decisions on such mundane details as page size, selling price and colour of the cover. Before the year's end the manuscript for the one volume publication was submitted to the Bible Society. It came off the press in late 1984 and was released to the public, with much publicity by the Bible Society in both the Christian and secular press Australia-wide, in April 1985 following special dedication services in six communities.

In July 1983 filming began for *Kriol Kantri*, a forty half-hour episode series of video programs designed primarily for use in schools with Kriol-speaking Aboriginal children. The aim of the series is to enhance the self-image and dignity of Kriol speakers, reinforce their literacy skills and help raise the prestige of their language. The series was produced by WBT Media Australia under the direction of Roy Gwyther-Jones. The script was written by Gail Forbutt with the assistance of several Kriol speakers. Fay Ware of Melbourne was second cameraman. I assisted with the filming. Virtually all casting was by Aborigines. Forbutt and Gwyther-Jones edited the series. (For more details see the article on the production of *Kriol Kantri* in the 'Letters to the Editor' appendix.)

I think there are four main areas one should watch in the near future for important Kriol language planning activities or influences. Firstly there is the continued development of the Kriol education programs at Barunga, Turkey Creek and Yiyili, as well as the development of the 'Kimberley Kriol Centre' at Halls Creek. Secondly the effectiveness or otherwise of the *Kriol Kantri* video series in meeting its aim warrants close scrutiny. The third area relates to the question of how the volume of Kriol scriptures will be used by and what effect it will have on Kriol-speaking Aboriginal Christians and churches, as well as the missions and missionaries who work with them.

The final area to watch are the developments arising out of the Kimberley Aboriginal Language Centre Pilot Study (Hudson and McConvell 1984). This was a government funded project concerned with laying the groundwork for the establishment in the Kimberleys of a language centre. The project was directed by an Aboriginal Steering Committee with Peter Yu as chairman. Patrick McConvell of SAL and Joyce Hudson, then of SIL, were the project's linguists. Twenty Aborigines were employed to help carry out the six month study during the last half of 1984.

APPENDIX 4

NEWSPAPER ITEMS REGARDING KRIOL

The following newspaper items, primarily letters to the editor, are included here because they reflect the confusion, misunderstanding and conflicting attitudes of both Aborigines and non-Aborigines towards Kriol.

Article in Northern Territory News, December 29, 1980, titled 'Bilingual litter attack':

> Signs in Creole and English will be used around Katherine to help combat the litter problem.
>
> This was one of a range of initiatives discussed at a recent meeting on Katherine's litter problem.
>
> Members of the Council Parks Committee, police, the Kalano Association and Government departments attended the meetings.
>
> Police said they continue on the spot fine [sic] and will implement the fines as soon as the relevant notices are obtained.
>
> Katherine Mayor, Mrs Pat Davies, said she would write to the presidents of Aboriginal communities advising them of the litter policy.
>
> But Mrs Davies said there had been an improvement in the cleanliness of Katherine.

Letter from Beryl Carragher, Tennant Creek, to Northern Territory News, Saturday, December 6, 1980, under the title 'Signs unclear':

> SIR, Regarding an article in your paper, Saturday, November 29, reporting on a meeting in Katherine to discuss litter problems, it was stated that signs in Creole and English would be used.
>
> Having checked the meaning of Creole as used in conjunction with language, a dictionary describes it as the French language of Louisiana, especially that spoken by white persons in New Orleans.
>
> Even taking the definition of a Creole person, I wonder how many residents of the Katherine area, or the whole Northern Territory, would be able to read such signs?
>
> Mayor Mrs Davies was reported as saying that presidents of Aboriginal communities would be advised on the litter policy.
>
> I presume the Creole language signs are to be for the benefit of these communities.
>
> What with clans instead of tribes, presidents and chiefs instead of elders, and now Creole instead of dialects, what price Aboriginal culture and tradition, which is so vital to the preservation of a civilisation?

Letter from John Sandefur, Ngukurr-Roper River, to Northern Territory News, Wednesday, February 4, 1981, under the title 'Things Creole':

> SIR, While on holidays in Victoria I recently received a clipping from the December 6 issue of The NT News.
>
> The clipping was the "Signs unclear" letter from Beryl Carragher.
>
> Beryl questioned the proposed use of Creole signs in Katherine, noting that the dictionary described Creole as the French language of Louisiana.
>
> Having been born and raised in Louisiana, I can assure Beryl that

Creole in Katherine has nothing to do with Creole in Louisiana except that they are both the same type of linguistic phenomenon.

The term creole, as used by linguists, refers to contact languages - new languages that develop out of existing languages that come in contact with each other. There are dozens of such languages around the world.

A creole differs from a pidgin - which is also a contact language - in that it is a fully developed language that is spoken by people as their mother tongue.

The creole that would be used in the Katherine signs is spoken by more than 15,000 Aborigines in the north of Australia.

Not all of these speak it as their mother tongue, but in many communities at least two generations do. At Ngukurr there are some fourth generation mother tongue speakers.

This creole - which is spelt Kriol in the writing system of the language - is being used in a bilingual education program at Bamyili. The language has an incipient literature of over 13 dozen published titles.

I would suggest that people who would like more information about Kriol write to the Summer Institute of Linguistics, P.O. Berrimah.

From the editor of the 'Spot On' column, Northern Territory News, Thursday, February 19, 1981, under the title 'When creole is kriol':

The most fascinating correspondence on page 6 of late has been the exchange over use of the word Creole to describe Aboriginal language.

Beryl Carragher, of Tennant Creek has the last word in this letter. (No more correspondence please.)

Beryl writes: Thank you to John Sandefur for his reply and explanation of the word creole which interested me enough to seek further information.

I referred to the Encyclopaedia Britannica, which defined creole as 'patois dialects founded on French and Spanish, referred to as creole languages'.

As a cross-reference, pidgin was described as follows: 'When a whole speech community gives up its former language and comes to use a pidgin as its mother tongue, the pidgin has become a creole language i.e. is creolised'.

Further reference from the encyclopaedia is as follows: 'In a general way creole may be used to identify a non-European or non-Indian way of life and set of values associated in a fairly complex manner with different segments of culturally and racially mixed population.'

It seems the main difference is in the original article, in the use of creole as a noun, where in the context which John uses it, the word is an adjective, indicating that a language, or a way of life, may become creolised; that the basic Aboriginal languages have been creolised, with the resultant language to be called kriol, as distinct from creole, making it an altogether different language, having no connection with the actual Creole language.

Article in New Life, Australia's Weekly Evangelical Newspaper, Thursday, September 1, 1983, page 4, titled '"Kriol Kantri" — for Aboriginal Children':

Mr Roy Gwyther-Jones, Media Director for Wycliffe Bible Translators, led a team across the top of Australia during July and August this year. He prepared the following report for "New Life" —

Kriol Kantri (a video series) is alive, well — and underway.

("Kriol" is the Aboriginal language and "Kantri" is the expansive region where it is used.)

Originally conceived two years ago driving along a dusty track near the Roper River in the Northern Territory, the idea of producing a Sesame Street-type video series for Kriol-speaking Aboriginal children was at that stage a simple concept:

Needed: A series (no number specified) of video programs — exciting, educational and entertaining — in Kriol, primarily for children and mainly featuring children. It would need to be culturally and linguistically relevant. Such a project had never been previously attempted in any Aboriginal language.

That was the concept two years ago when Wycliffe translator, John Sandefur, and Roy Gwyther-Jones were working on another Kriol video series, produced by Wycliffe Bible Translators and the Summer Institute of Linguistics, to promote bilingual education and the use of Kriol in churches.

The idea may have blown away in the dry season dust had not John asked Gail Forbut [sic], head teacher at Beswick Station near Katherine, to consider writing scripts for the series. Though Gail had no background in scriptwriting she had taught Aboriginal school [sic] for nine years. She is also fluent in Kriol.

The Initial Concept

The first proposal was a 16-week series of 80 half-hour programs. Gail accepted the challenge and took 18 months' leave without pay from the NT Education Department — 6 months travelling in Europe and a year to work on Kriol Kantri. Gail not only wrote the scripts but did most of the logistical planning.

A production team was gathered together. A third member was John's sister-in-law, Fay Ware, from Seaford (Vic.). Providing her own equipment Fay operated the second camera. John Sandefur was responsible for computer graphics and acted as production assistant. As producer, Roy was responsible for the overall direction and the editing, in addition to operating the first camera.

Finally they settle on 40 half-hour programs to be videod on location in about 40 Aboriginal settlements from the Kimberleys in Western Australia, across the Northern Territory and into Western Queensland. They actually reached just over 30 locations.

The Northern Territory Director of Education endorsed the project, encouraging the use of programs in all Aboriginal schools. A request for a grant was submitted to the Commonwealth Schools Commission. This was subsequently turned down after being short-listed for several months, but not until four-fifths of the shooting had been completed. This was a severe blow, but the team wondered what the Lord had in store. They were committed. There was no turning back.

Outback Excitement!

While many of the scenes were shot in the classroom or in informal school sessions, "interest" segments were constantly sought. A rodeo, funfair, helicopter mustering, careering through scrub country in a bull-catching Toyota, a stampete [sic] of buffaloes, crocodiles feeding, cattle loading, rough country driving provided some exciting moments — and taxed the video equipment to its limits!

The crew was also stretched to the limits, travelling 12,300 km by road, 12 hours by light aircraft, with jet travel in addition. They worked an average 14 hour day, every day for five weeks, which was exhausting physically and mentally.

Spiritually, it was stimulating as they experienced a succession of Divine "coincidences." Events "just happened", people were in the right place at the right time.

The team was constantly on the look-out for anything reflecting or promoting traditional Aboriginal culture — bark painting, carving, dancing, weaving, cave drawings, hunting skills and finger language, to mention a few. Vernacular language lessons reinforce the importance of traditional inheritance.

Another aim was to present the city (Darwin and Katherine) to children living in the bush, and the bush to city children. Health and safety lessons for both environments are also included.

The core of the program was literacy and numeracy, so much use was made of the growing stock of Kriol literature. Around 70 Kriol stories were read in the series, often with an audience of children.

"The purpose of the series," said Gail, "is to enhance the self-image and dignity of Kriol speakers and reinforce literacy skills in the language in which they think."

If this is achieved it should in turn lead to the strengthening of the church. Translators John and Joy Sandefur have already produced 24 Biblical booklets and several other titles. "It has already been demonstrated in much of the North," claimed John, "that reading the Scriptures in Kriol is a far more meaningful experience than reading in English. Furthermore," he added, "this video series will give a lot of prestige to the language and a great impetus to its literature."

Kriol Kantri is to be released next February. Long before editing is completed the team is already laying plans for a Biblical video series in Kriol in two years' time.

Letter from Esther Milnes, South Perth, to the editor of New Life, Thursday, October 20, 1983, page 4, under the title 'Kriol! A Missionary's Comments':

Sir, — Upon returning from a visit to the Northern Territory recently I was interested to read the article, "Kriol Kantri — for Aboriginal Children" (1.9.83), in one of the "New Life" papers which had accumulated. When anything is said about Kriol, most people say, "Kriol — what's that?" Kriol Kantri is the phonetic way of writing Creole Country. It is not an Aboriginal language, as an excerpt from a Kriol translation will show: Luke 23:13: Pailat bin tok langa datlot serromoni bos en datlot kaunsalamob en langa olabat blekbala, 'Yumob irrim mi na. Yumob bin bajamap dijan Jisas langa me [sic], en yumob bin dalim mi imin lidimbat blekbala langa rongwei." [sic]

Written without phonetics, it would be thus — "Pilate been talk longa that lot ceremony boss, and that lot counsellor mob and long blackfella, 'You mob hearem me now. You mob been fetchum up this one Jesus longa me, and you mob been tellim me Him lead about blackfella longa wrongway'."

Another misconception held by people is that Kriol is spoken by all Aborigines from the Kimberleys to Queensland. A linguist told me that this, in fact, is not so, and that Kriol varies from place to place according to the Aboriginal language spoken in that area, so that there is no standard Kriol translation. I have observed the word "from" variously written as "brom" and "burrum". John Sandefur, in one of his papers, says that the word "snake" can be pronounced five ways — jinek, jineg, sinek, sineik and snaik, [sic] the last being the phonetic writing of "snake".

In this country we have many migrants whose pronounciation of our words varies considerably, but no one has yet decided to write the words the way they pronounce them and make them permanent. The result would be chaotic to our country, and demeaning to people who are endeavouring to pronounce a new word correctly. I ask why such a policy should be applied to the Aboriginal people in their own country, and make them into second class citizens.

After a lifetime of living with the Aboriginal people I was deeply grieved, while in the Northern Territory, to see moves made by the

Government and by Christians to promote Kriol, the result of which will be to isolate the Aboriginal people in their own land by a language barrier which need not exist. Aboriginal children living in the towns are learning English with the other children, but in the communities there is a determined bid to bring in Kriol.

The Aboriginal people of the WA Goldfields, though speaking their own language, are scathing in their denunciation of written Kriol as they have seen it. One mother said, "Thank goodness my children are learning English", and a man said, "Apart from the Gospel, the learning of English has been the greatest help to me and my people in fitting into Australian society".

In practical terms, English is the language of need and of advancement. What, for instance, would be the Kriol alternative of a car part a man wants to order for a Holden car, and indeed, if he wrote his letter in Kriol, would it be understood by the dealer or the post office officials? Could he, in fact, take up a course to learn mechanics?

To promote Kriol among the children would seem to be shortsighted indeed, and we could ask if we would like our own children to be circumscribed by such a policy?

As a missionary, my main concern is the effect that this policy will have on the Aboriginal church. One could applaud the painstaking work of linguists in translating the Scriptures into Aboriginal languages, the "language of their hearts", but Kriol is not their heart language. The church will be retarded, in as much as it will be confined to the trickle of material which a few translators are able to produce, in contrast to the abundance of material available in English.

My husband, Don, who has spent most of his life teaching Aboriginal children and adults and has a high regard for their intelligence, recently conducted a bookstall in connection with the Mt Margaret Convention and the Warburton Ranges Jubilee. He sold $1,800 worth of Bibles, Christian books and cassettes. It is significant that the most popular books were those on Christian maturity — for example, "Spiritual Leadership" (Sanders), "Power Through Prayer" (E.M. Bounds) and "Spiritual Warfare" (Penn-Lewis) to mention a few. I believe that this speaks for itself.

Note from the editor of New Life, Thursday, November 23, 1983, under the title 'Kriol — An Alternative View':

"Kriol Kantri", an article from the Wycliffe Bible Translators, was published in "New Life" on September 1. In a "Letter to the Editor", published on October 20, Mrs Esther Milnes wrote questioning the validity of the use of Kriol in Bible translation and Christian witnessing. She wrote from a background of many years of missionary service amongst Aboriginal people, especially in the goldfields of WA.

The following letters express a differing understanding of Kriol — opinions which are of interest and will prove helpful in understanding the language needs of Aboriginal people in the northern parts of Australia.

Letter from John W. Harris, Darwin, to the editor of New Life, Thursday, October 23, 1983, under the title 'Kriol — An Alternative View':

Sir, — I am sure that, for most readers of "New Life", the Word of God in their own language is one of their most valued possessions. I am equally certain that these same people will welcome the news that Kriol-speaking Aboriginal people will soon be able to read and know the Word of God in Kriol. Not all Aboriginal people speak Kriol but, to many in the northern parts of Australia, it is their first language or mother tongue. For some years now, translation of the Bible into Kriol has been under way, supported by the Bible Society, the Summer Institute of Linguistics, the Anglican Church Missionary Society and, most importantly, by Kriol-speaking Aboriginal Christians in many churches including, for example, the AIM-founded church at Bamyili and the Anglican Church at Ngukurr (Roper River).

I was therefore both amazed and saddened by Esther Milnes' letter (October 6) criticising the use of Kriol to express the Gospel. A number of specific issues are raised in that letter with which I shall deal separately, but there are some general principles which I should first emphasise.

Creole languages, of which Kriol is an example, are languages which normally arise in periods of intense social disruption and language loss. They are often a consequence of invasion or colonisation.

They are languages forged from limited resources, sometimes only from the pidginised version of a European language which was frequently the only linguistic raw material a colonised people had left. But forged the creoles were, human linguistic ingenuity taking [sic] over where impoverished resources left off. The limited pidgins became creolised, that is they underwent expansion of vocabulary and syntax until they could express the whole range of human experience.

There are dozens of such languages in the world today, spoken as first-language or mother-tongue by millions of people. Most of the vocabulary of these creoles is derived from a coloniser's language such as English or French. They were ridiculed in the past and still today there are those who disparage them, even those who do so in the name of the Gospel.

Creoles are not a new phenomenon. English itself almost certainly has creole origins. It has many of the grammatical simplifications typical of creoles and its lexicon is a hodge-podge of what our illiterate Anglo-Saxon ancestors tried to say to the Romans and, later on, changed again by their descendants' efforts to communicate with the Norman French invaders. The fact that the majority of English words are modified from Latin and French with changed pronunciation and meaning does not, however, detract from the worth of English as a language. The fact that the majority of Kriol words are derived from English does not detract from its worth, either.

Indeed, the written Gospel itself was first expressed in Koine Greek, a language which, if it was not then a creole, certainly had creole origins. It was a modified version of classic [sic] Greek with altered pronunciation and simplified grammar. Its origins lay in the spread of Greek influence during the Greek Empire. Pidginised versions of Greek, particularly in the port cities creolised or expanded into a full language derived from, but distinctly different from, classical Greek. The Hebrew background of its Jewish speakers influenced the Koine in ways totally foreign to Greek itself.

In our church in Darwin we remembered Reformation Sunday, (October 30). One of the greatest of the many debts we owe to the Reformation is the possession of the Bible in our own language. The story of the battle by which that right was won is a story which those who now link "standard" English with the Gospel would do well to study.

For many centuries in the Western world not even modern European languages were considered fit for educational purposes. Only the classical languages, Hebrew, Greek and Latin, achieved the ideal. Languages with no inflection such as English were said to be 'grammarless'. For spiritual purposes and the expression of the Gospel only Latin was deemed good enough.

The rise of European nationalism, however, gave languages such as German, French and English the prestige to be worthy languages for study and fit vehicles for education. A key factor in their newfound status was the hard won acceptance that they were fit languages for the expression of the Gospel.

What is a fit language for the expression of the Gospel? Surely it is the first language or mother-tongue of the person who wants to read the Word of God. For this reason Kriol is the best language for Bible translation for people whose first language is Kriol and for whom it is the language of their hearts. This points up one of the misconceptions in Esther Milnes' letter. She asked if we would like our children to be made to speak Kriol. Nobody says that people whose first language is English should be made to speak Kriol. Esther Milnes also referred to Aboriginal people of the Western Australian goldfields, who have their own language, not wanting Kriol. Of course they should not want Kriol if it is not their first language and if English is their second language. The issues of Bible translation and children's education in Kriol refer only to those people who speak Kriol as a first language.

Esther Milnes seems to find it thought-provoking that Aboriginal Christians at Warburton bought good English Christian books. Why shouldn't they? They may be first language English speakers or they may have an Aboriginal language as their first language and also speak good English. They may even be Kriol speakers who also speak English. Many do, so who is surprised that they exhibit discernment in their purchase of Christian material?

The migrant who has adopted this country is in a different situation from the Aboriginal people who were invaded. No one suggests that the individually variable "foreigner's versions" of English spoken by people on the way to acquiring standard English should be formalised. Migrant people already have a first language, the language of their hearts, be it Italian or Greek or Vietnamese, and there are great efforts now being made to preserve such languages.

Esther Milnes' caricature of the Aboriginal person writing a Kriol letter to order a car part is demeaning in the extreme and shows a complete misunderstanding of Kriol and Kriol speakers. Aboriginal people are almost invariably multilingual. Why should an Aboriginal person who speaks Kriol as a first language, English as a second language and probably three or four Aboriginal languages, order a car part in Kriol? He would order it in English. There is, however, a world of difference between a car part and the Gospel.

It was not without controversy that a bilingual program in Kriol and English was implemented at Bamyili school and both critics and supporters were anxious to have objective test data by which to assess the program. Very careful, independent research revealed that the children in the Kriol and English classes showed much better language separation than the children in English-only classes.

That is, these children knew when they were speaking Kriol and when they were speaking English and spoke better English than the children who did not have the privilege of Kriol in school. They also performed better in maths and other academic subjects. This is an immensely important discovery.

The people of the Roper River region, where Kriol began about 1908, had been terribly ill-treated. Their people massacred in hugh numbers and suffering immense social damage, the remnants of many language groups sought the haven of the Roper River Mission in 1908. There, under the protection of the church, they used the little English pidgin they shared in common to create, unknowingly, a new language. Their own languages disappeared, there being too few speakers to ensure their survival in a mixed community. Four generations have spoken Kriol as their mother tongue. It is not English and it is not Pidgin English. Its thought patterns and semantics and syntax are Aboriginal. It is their language and the language of their hearts.

Recent years have seen the Bible translated into a number of creole languages. It is many years since we welcomed the Tok Pisin translation for creole speakers in New Guinea. Only last year, the Bible was published in Bislama, the English-based creole which rose as a consequence of slave trading ("blackbirding") in the New Hebrides.

We Europeans may not be able to change the past and right the wrongs of our forefathers. Where, however, our invasions and colonial exploitations have prompted language loss and the use of creoles, and where such languages persist as languages distinct from English, we should be humble enough to at least allow these people the only gift we may have to give — the Bible in their own language.

I have seen some completed books of the Bible in Kriol. In the new year, Kriol-speaking Aboriginal people will hold them in their hands. I hope and pray that readers of "New Life" will share their joy. I hope that they will pray for these Kriol-speaking Aboriginal people as they read God's word in their own language for the first time.

Letter from Rodney Rivers, Blackheath, to the editor of New Life, Thursday, October 23, 1983, under the title 'Kriol Kantri':

Sir, — I have read the article in "New Life", "Kriol, a Missionary's Comments" by Esther Milnes, October 20, and was disappointed with her comments. I respect her and her point of view but totally disagree with her comments on Kriol.

I think our sister has a misunderstanding of what Kriol is. Kriol is not a new thing, it has been spoken in the North of Australia for the past 60 to 70 years, maybe more.

I grew up speaking Kriol and I'll die speaking Kriol. I speak on behalf of the 15,000-20,000 people who speak Kriol in the Kimberleys, Northern Territory and Queensland, who will forgive Mrs Milnes for her mistake, for she is our sister in the Lord and we praise God for her and her family, whom we love very much.

Kriol is our heart language, not English, although we use it. The effect Kriol will have on the Kimberley Church is very rewarding. The first time I saw Kriol put down on paper was in 1979. God spoke to me and said, "I want you to know that I am calling you to this ministry and this ministry is of Me. But I want you to get a word from me and then stand on it because the adversary is surely going to oppose it." The word which the Lord has given me concerning Kriol is: "For a great door, and effectual, is opened unto me, and there are many adversaries" (1 Cor. 16:9). Also, "But thou hast kept the good wine until now" (John 2:10).

Selling English books and tapes worth $1,800 to Aboriginal people is no gauge that English is the supreme language of the day; it simply proves that there were no books or tapes in the language of the people.

My aim as an Aboriginal Bible translator and teacher is to communicate the mind of God, not to fight over which package it will come in. Because I speak Kriol it has helped me to read, understand and respect the New Guinea "Pidgin" and the "Bislama" spoken in the New Hebrides. They are similar to the Kimberley Kriol. The more the adversary opposes Kriol the more it gives me confidence that we are on the right track, thus confirming the Word which the Lord has given to me.

If all the Christians would disagree with what I am doing in Kriol as a Bible translator and teacher then they will have to enter heaven and drive the Omnipotent God from his throne, for he called me to the work. In that assurance I find peace and sweet rest.

My prayer is, "Oh God, use Kriol to bring honour and glory to Your great name. May the praises on Kriol lips enter the portals of heaven and there bless You throughout endless days."

Letter from Queenie Brennan, Bamyili, to the editor of New Life, Thursday, December 15, 1983, page 6, under the title 'A Kriol Speaker Writes':

Sir, — I would like to say something about a letter in your paper (6.10.83) by Mrs Esther Milnes, about the Kriol language.

I am a traditional Aborigine. I was born, and am living, at Bamyili in the NT. I cry in my heart when I read things that criticise my language, Kriol.

I was very, very depressed when I read that Mrs Milnes said that Kriol is not an Aboriginal language. I have heard many people "rubbish" my language. It makes me very sad.

Mrs Milnes, long ago when white men came and worked here in the tin mines, my father didn't know white men's tongue because he spoke Ngalkbon, and my mother speaks Maiyali.

The white men told my parents that their language was "rubbish", too, and taught them pidgin language. Over the years, when many different tribes in this area came together, the Kriol language developed. We can't all speak each other's languages, but we all share Kriol. I am not ashamed that my children speak Kriol. I teach them to be proud of our language.

I am writing this letter in English, because English is your language, and English is Mrs Milnes' language. I respect your language. Please try to respect mine.

God gave me my language, and I pray to Him in Kriol, I sing choruses and hymns in Kriol, and I like to read stories and Scriptures in Kriol. One day I will be able to read the Bible in Kriol, and I am waiting for that time.

The Bible is being translated into many other Aboriginal languages and we thank God for the translators.

Mrs Milnes visited Bamyili this year with the CWCI. I am sorry that she didn't have open ears, open eyes, and an open mind to learn that Kriol is so important to us.

At Bamyili school the children learn in two languages. They learn to read and write both Kriol and English. They are learning very well, and we are happy that they are learning in their own language, as well as in English.

My children were filmed for the "Kriol Kantri" video series, and I read lots of Kriol stories. We are all looking forward to seeing the videos.

I hope Mrs Milnes understands more now. May God bless you.

Letter from Mervyn V. Pattemore, Darwin, to the editor of New Life, Thursday, December 22, 1983, page 10, under the title 'More on Kriol':

Sir, — It would seem inevitable that an opinion contrary to the "accepted" as expressed by Mrs E. Milnes would draw flack, particularly from the sponsors and those academically involved.

A lengthy and well-written letter was published ("New Life", Nov. 23) by Mr John Harris, and another by Mr Rodney Rivers.

With due respect may I comment that Mr Rivers has excelled in his fervour, though no doubt all his concepts were gained per medium of the English language! Nowhere does he intimate that the translation work in Kriol has given a greater understanding in Bible truth, though an appreciation of NG Pidgin and Bislama of the New Hebrides has been gained.

Mr Harris, with due respect also, has blinded us (almost) with science and explanations of the English language origins. In one paragraph he admits to a "hodge-podge of what our illiterate Anglo-Saxon ancestors tried to say to the Romans..." etc. So saying, it could well be that our ancestors in the dark ages of the past could be forgiven. However, in this modern age of literacy and educational enlightenment surely we must stand forever condemned for perpetuating such mistakes of the past, supporting them, and contriving to make them look respectable. This same "Chinaman Hinglish", a derogatory term used by Aboriginal people to describe their limping attempts at the English tongue, has long ago been recognised by speakers as entirely inadequate, hence the plea of the people of the past, "We want our kids to learn to read and write".

Mr Harris mentions results of research in the educational sphere after the introduction of Kriol in the school. I would maintain that any advantages gained could well have been attained, and more, by the adoption of a basic, simple, straightforward English. Such is readily understood and accepted by almost all NT Aborigines today. One of the most successful schools ever in the NT and in the heart of the "Kriol country" was conducted along such lines, i.e., basic, simple straightforward English.

The fact is that Aboriginal Australians had no written language and therefore depended on the way they heard many carelessly enunciated words from early European contacts. They must learn in English if they wish to read or write their mother tongue.

We Australians can readily pick a "Scot" or a "Pom", a "Yank" or a "Kiwi" — likewise they distinguish an "Aussie" and we then an Aboriginal — by word pronunciation. But we record all in English. Why then should the issue be confused and the speakers belittled by insinuating that Aboriginals could not read, for example, "ONLY" instead of the Kriol "ONLI", "NEVER" instead of "NEBA" or "STILL" instead of "STIL"?

"Almost" is explained as "NILI" which word all would recognise as "NEARLY". For "close up", another well used phrase having the same meaning as "nearly", translators are pleased to serve us with "GULIJAP"! Same word. Different spelling and/or pronunciation.

For [sic] "must" is written "Mas" or "LABDA". It could be reasonable to write it right, even if we all at times err on the slack side! So saying, and not wishing to appear too facetious but rather to illustrate the point, — "S'long, I'lafta git goin — be seein yus."...

(PS: The views expressed are my own and not necessarily those held by the Aborigines Inland Mission of Australia.)

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